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PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS 666-630

AUGUST 23, 1985
VOL.VI,NO.277

16 PAGES
IS 600

exp. 86/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Drive for City Heart Continues

Settlers Squat in Hebron Casba House

by Maher Abukhater

Three Israeli Knesset members from the right-wing Tehiya party squatting in a Hebron house since August 15 and four others, also members of the Knesset, who joined them late August 19, vacated the Hebron house very early August 20 on orders from the Israeli Military Commander of the Central District, Amnon Shahak and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The MKs left the house which is located in the central market district of Hebron after another right-wing party, the Likud, failed to win endorsement for the house's settlement from the inner cabinet in its August 18 meeting. The inner cabinet, made up of 10 ministers, tied in their vote on settling the house, which effectively meant defeat of the measure.

The bizarre incident began August 13 while the market area of Hebron was under curfew. A Jewish settler from nearby Kiryat Arba was stabbed August 10 while shopping in the market. The military immediately clamped a curfew on the area surrounding the attack and the rest of the market district known as the Casba.

According to shopkeepers in the Casba, the military lifted the curfew for two hours August 13 to allow the shopkeepers time to examine their stock and discard spoiled products. When they returned to their shops, the shopkeepers said, they discovered an Israeli flag hanging from a flat in the midst of an all-Arab neighbourhood. Later, the residents observed settlers going in and out of the flat. None of them knew where the settlers had come from or what had happened

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With a Hebronite woman in the foreground, Israeli Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon and MK Geula Cohen stroll through the Casba market escorted by an Israeli soldier and armed Jewish settler. /AFP Photo

General Acquitted of Excess Force in Commando Killing

An Israeli army general charged with using excessive force against two Palestinian commandos who were beaten to death after hijacking an Israeli bus in April 1984 was acquitted by a military disciplinary court, August 18. Brigadier General Yitzhak Mordechani, chief paratroop and infantry officer, had been named as one of 12 military and secret service men who used pistol and gun butts to beat the two commandos to death.

Alex Libac's incriminating photo showing one of the captured commandos being led away from the bus alive. /File Photo

The civilian bus had been on a regular evening trip from Tel Aviv to the southern coastal town of Askalan (Ashkelon) when four Arab youths, residents of Gaza, hijacked it and ordered the driver to head for the nearby Egyptian border. Israeli troops stormed the bus near the town of Khan Younis just before dawn and freed 24 hostages. Two hijackers were killed in the raid and the other two, Majdi Abu Jame' and Jamal Qabalan, both from Bani Ishaila in the Gaza Strip, were photographed being escorted away by soldiers. The two turned up dead an hour later.

The trial before a military disciplinary court was organised following the recommendation of the Israeli Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, who last week advised that Mordechai should be fully prosecuted for use of excessive force against the Palestinian commandos. Five Shin Bet (Secret Service) men, three policemen and three soldiers were also to be charged with responsibility for the killing.

The call for legal action stirred a controversy within the Israeli political establishment. High-ranking Israeli officials, including Morasha party Minister-Without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira, demanded that Zamir be sacked. Others were concerned that if Mordechai was convicted, it would "ruin the reputation" of the Israeli army.

During the closed hearing before one judge, Mordechai testified he had used his pistol to force the two commandos to say whether they had left a booby-trapped suitcase on the bus or not.

The court judge, Reserve Major General Haim Nadel, ruled that Mordechai was not guilty of any wrong doing. The court justified Mordechai's beating of the two commandos by saying that the surrounding circumstances in which force was used were related to an attempt to "obtain vital and immediate information" on the existence and whereabouts of explosives. *The New York Times*, in a report on

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Former Deputy Minister Questioned

Israeli Suspects Remanded in Land Fraud Case

A Tel Aviv District Court agreed to a police request to extend the detention of three Israeli suspects in the West Bank land scam for another 15 days, on August 17. The land fraud incident surfaced a month ago with the discovery of forged land documents and complaints by Israeli land purchasers who had been defrauded. The case threatens to reach into the top echelons of the Israeli government, including former Deputy Minister of Agriculture Michael Dekel.

The three Israeli suspects arrested on July 18 are under investigation concerning a batch of official documents and forged land deeds found in one suspect's apartment. A week after their arrest, a Qalqilya land dealer, Ahmad Mahmoud Odeh, known to be on good terms with the settlers, was also arrested.

In the course of the August 17 hearing, Attorney Rubenstein, who is representing one of the suspects, told the court that the police had told Mizrahi, one of the three suspects, that the forgery ring was built like a pyramid, and now that they had apprehended those on the bottom of the pyramid, they would start moving up, toward the "senior political official" at its apex.

The court agreed to the police request and remanded the three men in custody for another 15 days.

In the days that followed, the police began calling in political figures from the right-wing of the Israeli establishment for questioning.

On August 21, *Hadashot* reported that the police had questioned the former Director of the Land Administration office, Yakov Aknin, who had shares in *Dekel*, a land company that operated on the West Bank. *Hadashot* went on to tie the assistant to former Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Avi Zur, into the land scam, claiming he had told a group of land developers that the Kramin settlement (which was supposed to be es-

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Israeli bomb sappers inspect the West Bank Fiat for clues following the detonation of the car-bomb in Netanya.

Netanya Carbomb Detonated

West Bank Rocks with Resistance Acts

A booby-trapped car, the first one in years, was detonated minutes before it exploded at the central bus station in the coastal city of Netanya August 20. The white Fiat with Bethlehem (West Bank) plates was discovered early in the morning by a passerby who notified the police of his suspicions. Police immediately erected checkposts around the bus station after evacuating it. The car was then exploded with a robot sapper. Israeli police rounded up 100 Arabs who happened to be in the vicinity, or at checkposts outside Netanya.

Later in the day an unidentified caller told the *Agence France Press* office in Jerusalem that the No. 17 Force of Fatah was responsible for the operation.

The car-bomb was one of several resistance operations carried out by clandestine Palestinian commando units in the occupied territories last week. Earlier in the week on August 15, the Israeli authorities declared the Qalqilya area in the northwestern part of the occupied West Bank a closed military zone following an attack on an Israeli bus. The bus was on a normal evening trip between the Arab village of Hablah and Alfe Menashe settlement when it was ambushed. The unknown assailants showered the bus with automatic fire, an Israeli military spokesperson announced. The whole Qalqilya area was cordoned off following the attack and the Israeli army conducted a search and investigation, arresting a number of people.

In the southern West Bank, the road leading to Beit Hagai settlement, south of Hebron, was also closed following a mine which exploded as an Israeli car drove on its way to the Kiryat Arba settlement. The glass of the car was shattered. The Israeli army which rushed to the scene searched the area looking for suspects. A gas cylinder was also found at the site with a letter in Arabic attributing the operation to a Palestinian organisation, Israel Radio announced.

In Ramallah a hand grenade was hurled at a military car standing by the city hospital August 16. A curfew was imposed on the area for a few hours, and a number of youths were arrested. Four houses in the Ein Bet Elma' refugee camp near Nablus were sealed with concrete the same day. An Israeli spokesperson said that the houses belonged to families of Arab youths who are accused of attacking Israeli cars with molotov cocktails in recent months. Two border policemen were injured during the attack, the spokesperson added.

In other related incidents, a curfew was clamped on the Balata refugee camp near Nablus August 16. Residents of the camp were subjected to 48 hours of continuous search and harassment following the injury of the camp *mukhtar* who was shot in his left shoulder August 15. Men, aged 15-40, were ordered to gather in the centre of the camp from 9:00 pm that night and were subject to an all-night investigation.

In the Gaza Strip, two fire-bomb attacks were carried out on Israeli military vehicles on August 17 and 19. The first took place on a road between Jabalya refugee camp and Beit Lahia village north of Gaza. The second one occurred between Gaza and Jabalya. Israeli sources gave no details about casualties.

Israeli Diplomat Assassinated in Cairo

Albert Atrakchi, 30, the administrative attache in the Israeli embassy in Cairo, was killed when assailants rained the car he was travelling in August 20 with automatic fire. He was the first Israeli diplomat to be killed since Israel and Egypt exchanged diplomatic representation in 1979. A yet unknown militant Egyptian group, the Egyptian Revolution, claimed responsibility for the attack. The Egyptian statement indicated that Atrakchi came to Cairo three months ago and was not among the Israeli staff named to the Egyptian authorities by the embassy to be guarded, Radio Israel reported.

The attache was killed instantly. His wife Ilana, 24, and an embassy employee were injured in the attack.

Later in the day the Egyp-

buried in the Kiryat Shaul cemetery August 21. Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir vowed at the funeral that the incident will not deter Israel from sending envoys to Egypt. He also expressed his confidence that Egypt's leaders are aware of their duty to protect the lives, security and freedom of movement of Israeli representatives.

Amal Attacks Palestinian Camps

Palestinian refugee camps in the Beirut, Lebanon region were involved in violent clashes with the Shi'ite Amal militias and the Lebanese Army Sixth Brigade August 20. Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila refugee camps were targets of the heavy bombardment in which 24 refugees were injured. Palestinians reported that their fighters, however, were able to repulse the attackers.

In south Lebanon, reports indicated that the Amal fired into the air during search operations near al-Rashidiya refugee camp, south of Tyre. Lebanese security sources reported that one person was killed in Ein al-Hilweh camp near Sidon.

Meanwhile fierce clashes between the warring Islamic militia and their left-wing Christian allies against the right-wing Christian militias continued. The Lebanese capital has been hit with nearly 15,000 shells in the last 10 days. The casualty toll for the last few days reached 246 killed and 775 injured. Thousands of houses and cars have also been damaged. The Lebanese army was reportedly supporting right-wing Christian militias by bombarding West Beirut which is controlled by Amal and the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP).

Unidentified war planes also attacked August 20 the Shi'ite village of Hazarta.

Hopes for US-Palestinian Talks Fizzle in Amman

Diplomatic efforts aimed at arranging a public meeting between a US official and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation failed last week. US Special Envoy Richard Murphy left the Middle East August 20 without meeting the delegation, which was awaiting such a meeting in Amman.

An agreement on a timetable for such a meeting was also not achieved. Despite claims to the contrary, US officials appear to have bowed to Israeli pressure and dictates. Israeli officials have been opposed from the beginning to such a meeting. At best, Israeli Labour party officials had asked that such a US-Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue be a step towards direct Arab-Israeli talks.

During his visit to Amman last week the Assistant US secretary of State for Near East Affairs attempted to obtain guarantees for such a possibility from Jordanian officials. Jordanian Prime Minister Zeid al-Rifa'i held a pfess conference August 18 in which he indicated Jordan's commitment to an "international conference" as the acceptable formula for negotiations. Rifa'i also indicated that Jordan was still awaiting the US' reply to a list of seven Palestinian names suggested by the PLO. Rifa'i said that Jordan told the Americans they can choose four out of the seven names.

Israel and the US have expressed their approval of two Palestinians on the list who live in the occupied territories.

With his departure, Jordanian and PLO officials expressed their disappointment with the failure of Murphy to meet the joint delegation.

US embassy spokesperson in Tel Aviv Arthur Burger told *Al Fajr* that the US government is still searching for ways to overcome the various obstacles that are holding up a prospective meeting with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. "There are two problems. The first being the arrangement of the meeting, including the list of Palestinian names and timetable for the meeting. The second, is the assurance that such a meeting would preclude direct negotiations between Arabs and Israel," he said.

Burger denied that the US was bowing to Israeli pressures. "Mr Murphy was here in Israel and knows that Israelis are unhappy with what we are doing but Israel was not asked for its advice on the matter," he said.

Burger said that no breakthrough had been expected during Murphy's visit and that "everything in the Middle East takes time."

Bani Na'im Resists

Military Land Grab

Israeli military authorities informed residents of Bani Na'im village (pop. 12,000), southeast of Hebron, August 14 of their intention to confiscate thousands of dunums of agricultural and pasture land for unspecified military purposes.

Daoud Manasrah, secretary of the Bani Na'im village council, told *Al Fajr* the confiscated area stretches from the village all the way east to the Dead Sea. He estimated the area to be in the neighbourhood of 30,000 dunums (7500 acres) and possibly more.

The land seized is considered a companion piece to land seized months ago from the town of Yatta, south of Hebron. Both plots stretch along the coast on the Dead Sea. Arab land confiscation experts note that the Alon plan, which Israel continues to see as a compromise formula in case of future negotiations calls for Israel to retain the entire Jordan Valley area as a security belt, should the occupied West Bank ever be relinquished.

According to Mohammed Abed Manasrah, head of the village council, the Hebron-area military governor showed him on a map written in Hebrew (a language he neither speaks nor reads) the area to be confiscated. This caused confusion, said the council head, because people went to work their lands the next day not knowing whether their plots fell within the boundaries indicated on the map or not. They were met with soldiers who confiscated their equipment and herd.

Mohammed Manasrah said the military governor told him the military intended to use the confiscated land for army manoeuvres. Daoud Manasrah, discounts the military's story. The military has had a training base about 20 kilometres from the village for the past 8 years with out interfering in the daily life of the village, he said.

The confiscated land is the main source of living for the village the Bani Na'im village council head said. Manasrah wrote in a protest letter to the Israeli military delivered August 16 that the village residents "rely completely on cultivating the land and using it as a pasture for their sheep amounting to 25,000 head... and it is the only source of living for the village residents."

According to Daoud Manasrah, the confiscated land is very rich with underground wells which Bani Na'im uses for irrigation and drinking. He said village residents have lived off this land for many decades and there is no telling what will happen to them without it.

In spite of the relative calm which prevailed in Bani Na'im villagers have had occasional clashes with a paramilitary Israeli force known as the 'Green Patrol.' Manasrah disclosed that members of the Green Patrol, who claim to be protectors of the environment, patrol the pastures harassing shepherds and confiscating their herds. He said more than 1000 sheep were confiscated two months ago by the Green Patrol and their owners were forced to pay heavy fines to retrieve them, even though the sheep were grazing on land owned by Bani Na'im.

Manasrah added that members of the Green Patrol also destroyed olive trees in the village several times which prompted the village to file a complaint in the Israeli courts against the Green Patrol.

In addition to clashes with the Green Patrol, the village residents have been in conflict with beduins who roam the pasture land in search of food for their sheep. Only two months ago a fight broke out between some village residents and beduins in which a beduin was killed. That dispute was soon settled when Bani Na'im agreed to give up pasture land to the beduins.

Bani Na'im village council plans to escalate its protest against the land confiscation. In addition to the letter sent to the Israeli military by the council head which demanded that the military rescind its decision, the council will raise the issue with the Military Objections Committee unless the confiscation order is cancelled. The council also called the Israeli Defence Ministry and other high-ranking officials on this issue.

Najah pyschologist Dr Abd al-Latif Aqel and Public Relations Director Dr Sa'eb Ereqat speak to press at the American Colony Hotel in Jerusalem August 19. /AO Photo

Najah Psychologist to Press:

Suppression Brings Agitated Response

"The more you suppress me the more you agitate me to respond," said Dr Abd al-Latif Aqel, a psychologist at Najah National University in Nablus. Aqel was responding to recent Israeli measures against the Palestinian population. "Collective punishment is agitating the population to respond and one result is violence," Aqel added during a special press conference August 19 at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem. The conference was arranged by the University to discuss the consequences of its closure. Najah was closed for two months August 2 by order of the Israeli military government.

Dr Aqel, who is also Dean of Scientific Research at the university, was the main speaker at the press conference. Aqel stressed that recent Israeli policies intended to quell growing Palestinian nationalism in the occupied territories will not work. On the contrary, he said, these policies are bound to increase nationalist feelings among the Palestinian youths which will lead to more violence directed at the occupation forces.

Aqel gave an example of a survey he conducted between January 1 and May 1, 1984, of high school and university students born one year before the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and one year following the occupation. He said results of the yet unpublished survey indicated a growing interest in political literature among the young Palestinians. About 78 percent of the respondents said they read political books on Palestine and the Palestinian question, Aqel said. Usually, the psychology professor added, young people at the age of the surveyed sample living under normal conditions read novels.

Aqel said that 72 percent of the students said they intended to take matters into their own hands to change the political map for the Palestinian people. There was considerable difference between the students' responses and those of parents asked the same question. The parents said they relied more on God and the Arab governments to change their political situation.

Dr Aqel was joined in the press conference by Dr Sa'eb Ereqat, Director of the Najah Public Relations office. Dr Ereqat was very critical of the growing anti-Arab sentiments among Israelis, especially among officials in the Israeli parliament and cabinet. He said this sentiment is directed against the Palestinians "only because we are Palestinian Arabs."

Ereqat denounced the closure of Najah University which left thousands of students out in the streets. He said that when university students went out two years ago into the streets to commemorate the anniversary of the June 1967 war, the military commander in Nablus asked him to urge the students to confine their activities to campus. This year, Ereqat said, the military closed campus because the students were preparing for annual elections to the student council, an activity totally confined to campus.

Dr. Ereqat strongly attacked members of the Israeli Knesset like Geula Cohen, Rafael Eitan and Meir Kahane who vocally express racist feelings against the Palestinian Arabs. He said that while Israeli officials speak out against Palestinians and urge their murder or mass deportation, not a single Palestinian in the Palestine National Council, the Palestinian equivalent to a parliament, has spoken out against Jews just for being Jews. Ereqat said the Palestinians are fighting for independence and self-determination, not against Jews as Jews. The Israelis, on the other hand, are fighting the Palestinians merely because they are Palestinians, Ereqat said angrily.

Najah University was closed when Nablus was under curfew following the fatal shooting of an Israeli in the city. The curfew lasted for four days but the university was ordered closed for two months. Last year the university was closed for four months from July 30 through November 30.

General

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the trial August 19, said that the court hearing left many unanswered questions.

The Israeli judge, for instance, did not explain how General Mordechai conducted an investigation while he and eleven other soldiers and secret service men were beating and kicking the two commandos. "He also left open the question of how the Israeli army General Mordechai expected to get information from the two hijackers if they were beaten so badly that their skulls were fractured," the *New York Times* said.

There have been many cases in the past in which the Israeli army was accused of killing Palestinian prisoners, usually during interrogation. Two years ago, journalists uncovered a secret war cemetery near Tiberias in which the bodies of 40 Syrian soldiers and Palestinian commandos were buried. The Israeli army failed to give an explanation for the burial of non-Israeli soldiers in Israel.

During the 1978 Israeli invasion of south Lebanon, known as the "Litani Operation", an Israeli officer named Pinto was convicted on charges of shooting four Palestinian prisoners in the back. He was pardoned after completing only four months of his prison sentence.

His 14th Arrest

Injured Youth Detained, No Charge

An Israeli military court in Ramallah remanded Dheisheh resident Tawfiq Hassan Mana'a, 17, to another 30 days in detention. Mana'a was arrested for the 14th time in early August and has yet to be formally charged.

Journalist Jawdat Mana'a, brother to Tawfiq, told *Al Fajr* that Tawfiq suffers from an infection in his leg, on which he has had three operations. The Mana'a family reported that Tawfiq has often been the victim of severe torture during his repeated detentions and they fear that this time it could prove fatal.

Jawdat told *Al Fajr* his brother was arrested for allegedly throwing stones at military vehicles. Tawfiq has not been charged as such, however, and seems to be repeatedly arrested merely for intensive interrogation on security matters. Jawdat has appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to help secure his brother's release.

Israeli soldiers have also been conducting a campaign of arrest targeted at residents of Beit Sahour near Bethlehem. Twenty-five persons have been arrested since July and still the charges remain unclear.

BZU Hosts Rural Development Conference

The third Rural Development Conference, in which Bir Zeit University has taken part, concluded after three days of lectures at the university August 16-18. The conference, held in the Kamal Nasser Hall on the new BZU campus, contributed a number of valuable studies on agricultural development in the occupied territories.

Professors from Durham in England, Amsterdam and Bir Zeit, the sponsor for this conference, attended along with Palestinian scholars from various local institutions. Discussions dealt with the problem of and strategies needed for rural development in the occupied territories. A number of lectures related to the topic were given.

Lecturers spoke on the critical and theoretical exposition of rural development and the theoretical and practical strategies of rural development. Agricultural problems in the Middle East, strategies used for development by international institutions, criticism of former developmental experiments and the role of large institutions in rural development were also discussed.

The conference was attended by nearly 80 agricultural engineers, students, professors, and personnel from various cooperative and cultural institutions in the occupied territories.

Palestinian and foreign student volunteers joined forces during the first of three Bir Zeit University voluntary work camps held August 4-16. /AO Photo

The first conference of its kind was held at Durham University in Britain in 1980. The second was sponsored by Amsterdam University but was held at Bir Zeit in 1983.

Bir Zeit University is also conducting a voluntary work camp this month. Three work camps have been planned in coordination with the Cooperative Committee of the Student Council and the Voluntary Work Office of the University. The first work camp ended on August 16 and was attended by 60 volunteers, who worked for 12 days. The second began on August 19 and will end August 30. The third will take place September 3-15.

Nearly 35 foreign volunteers from Europe and America, in addition to volunteers from BZU, are working in Palestinian villages and camps on such projects as paving streets. Some of the volunteers also attended the tenth Nazareth voluntary work camp held last week. Practical participation in such activities is a prerequisite for graduation for Bir Zeit University students.

7000 Volunteer at 10th Nazareth Camp

The tenth annual volunteer work camp in Nazareth ended August 18, after three days labour with an estimated US500,000 dollars worth of projects completed.

Work completed this year included the paving and widening of streets, the construction of walls, the whitewashing and painting of schools and other establishments, the extension of water pipes to certain quarters of the city, and the maintenance and general cleaning of the city.

In a press conference held in Nazareth at the conclusion of the work camp, Tawfiq Zayyad, the city's mayor, condemned Israeli police for not permitting the 25,000 participants, in the opening-march ceremony to through the main streets. They were restricted, however, to a side steet for no specific reason. Zayyad recalled a march for a visiting circus troupe in the city two months ago which was permitted to go through the centre of the city, without police interference.

Zayyad said that nearly 7000 persons had participated in the camp from all over Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights. Fourteen foreign delegations from Asia, Europe and North America also attended. He said IS20 million were donated to the camp in addition to tons of fruit and vegetables from Arab farmers, and tools and engines used in the work from local contractors and Arab local councils. Following the press conference, journalists were invited to tour the work sites.

Deputy Mayor Ramez Jeraisi told *Al Fajr* that every year the camp increases in importance as a gathering for democratic forces struggling for a just and durable peace, for a withdrawal from the occupied territories, for a halt to discrimination and aggression, and for the establishment of a Palestinian state. The increasing international participation is also of great importance, he said. "The camp which is the largest annual gathering the Middle East is also of great importance for its development nature which saves the municipality thousands of dollars every year," Jeraisi added.

Israel Forbids Activist's Trip to UN Meeting

Samiha Khalil, head of the Family Rehabilitation Society (*In'ash al-Usra*) in al-Bireh, published an appeal August 17 in the local media in which she sought public support for her "recent request to travel to Geneva." Khalil, one of the most prominent women activists in the occupied territories, was banned by the authorities from attending an international meeting of non-governmental organisations interested in the question of Palestine scheduled to convene in Geneva between September 9-12. The UN is sponsoring the conference.

Khalil, who was officially invited to take part in the conference, submitted an application for a *Laissez Passer* to the Israeli military authorities in Ramallah, but was refused permission. She was not given any explanation for the refusal. Khalil pointed out in her appeal that she has been subject to similar restrictions in the past and the authorities have consistently refused explanation.

"I have never been charged with breaking any law or military regulation," she wrote in her appeal. "Nor have I received a specific order banning me from travelling. I have appealed through several lawyers and have tried all legal sources available to me, but still the answer comes 'no permission... you are denied,' " she wrote.

20 Soldiers Terrorise Sakhnin Farmers

Approximately 20 Israeli soldiers terrorised farmers from the Galilee village of Sakhnin August 15 in what appears to be a premeditated attack. Two children, a youth and three women were injured and required treatment.

Mahmoud Khalaili, deputy head of the Sakhnin Village Council, told *Al Fajr* that the Palestinian farmers went to work their 6500-dunum plot on the morning of August 15 as usual. The soldiers, who had been camping on a corner of the land plot, apparently came upon the farmers tilling the land. The soldiers, who were in full Israeli army uniform, surrounded the farmers and blocked off any escape route. The soldiers then fired their guns over the farmers' heads and began to beat them severely.

Two children under 12 years old, an 18-year-old youth, and three women, one of whom is 75 years old, were injured in the attack. They were transferred soon afterwards to the village for treatment. Police later arrived at the scene and launched an investigation. No statement by the army has been received.

The land area, which is planted with olive trees, tobacco, watermelons and various vegetables, serves as a main source of livelihood for nearly 50 Sakhnin families. The dunums were declared a military zone in the 1950s but farmers continued to work the land when the military was not using it. In times of army manoeuvres, often lasting no more than 10 days, the Sakhnin local council were informed ahead of time enabling them to notify the farmers not to enter the area. In this case, however, the council was not told of any manoeuvres, and Khalaili believes there were none taking place.

"For the last four or five months, the army has been harassing the farmers and often enters the land without prior notice," said Khalaili. Khalaili also told *Al Fajr* that 70 persons of a beduin tribe Arab Sawa'ed who live in the area are also affected. The road leading to their residence passes through the land known as al-Mal, and they are forbidden to use it or to ferry water to their camp by means of it.

Following the incident the Sakhnin Local Council held an emergency meeting in which they decided to follow the case closely. If similar incidents are reported the council intends to call the Arab Local Councils into an urgent meeting. Khalaili said the council filed a complaint with the police and also sent letters of protest to Israel's Prime Minister the governor of the northern region and other government offices.

The leadership of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) in Sakhnin also held a meeting in which they denounced the attack and called it a premeditated act against Arab residents. MK Tawfiq Toubi, a DFPE Knesset member, cabled Minister of Defence Yitzhak Rabin in which he protested the aggression and demanded a full investigation.

Khalaili described the soldier attack as "regrettable."

20 Political Prisoners Separated in Nablus

Twenty Palestinian political prisoners at the central Nablus prison were reportedly separated from the rest of the prisoners last week after they developed a skin disease, *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily reported August 19. Prison authorities reportedly are denying the prisoners' treatment.

The Israeli Communist Party newspaper quoted relatives of the prisoners, who said the skin condition resulted from malnutrition and lack of necessary health care. News from the prison was that the authorities had locked the 20 prisoners in separate cells, but had not provided medical treatment.

In a related story, administration of the Fara'a prison located near Nablus reportedly stepped up its use of torture and intimidation against the prisoners. Sources say water is often cut off and the quality of food is markedly deteriorating. Meals often consist of stewed or fried eggplant and tomato. Meat is rarely served and when prisoners demanded meat, they were given a choice of either meat more often or family visits.

The daily exercise period has also been reduced to half an hour every three days or more depending on the mood of the administration. Overcrowdedness is yet another problem from which prisoners have been suffering since the prison opened in 1982.

The Fara'a prison administration still refuses to put Mahdi Nimr Odeh in a cell. He is kept chained in the prison courtyard. Odeh, a Bethlehem University student, was sentenced to four months imprisonment on August 14 for allegedly stoning Israeli army patrols during clashes between university students and the soldiers earlier this year. He was shot in the leg at the time and his wound has not yet completely healed. Eyewitnesses reported that Odeh tried to contact some visitors during the family visit last Friday August 16 in order to pass information on to his lawyer about his situation. He was then beaten harshly and pulled away by guards, who then turned to disperse the infuriated families.

Fara'a prison, an ex-Jordanian army camp, is notorious for being one of the worst lockups run by Israel. It is known for the use of torture against Arab prisoners in attempts to extract information from them during investigation. Fara'a inmates are mainly students and youths.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for £50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

The Theatre of Settlement

After seven days of theatrics and open challenge to the Israeli government, at 3:00 am on Tuesday the Israeli army evicted Knesset members from an Arab house they had occupied in the heart of Hebron. The pre-dawn departure of the MKs followed a meeting between the parliamentarians and settler leaders in which at least one MK is reported to have advocated at least a show of resistance to the army's evacuation order. The MKs left peacefully, however, after one young soldier is reported to have pled: "It will be a life-long nightmare for me if I have to drag you out."

The touching tale does not end there, however, for the MKs' eviction does not spell an end to the settlers' and their official guardians' attempts to establish another Jewish colony inside the Arab city. Tehiya leaders vowed as they left the house under Israeli guard to continue the fight to settle in Hebron. Presently, they are seeking a mandate from the Israeli High Court to authorise the establishment of a settlement nest in the house, which settlers claim to have bought.

This challenge to the disunified "national unity" government is a direct result of the Labour government's apparent weakness and complicity. Peres' refusal to restore the Arab bus station in Hebron or to evict the illegal squatters at Tel Rumeida and other settler nests have encouraged the settlers and their parliamentarian supporters to launch just such a challenge against the government. The Israeli government's decision to evict the MKs is no more than a face-saving act designed to appease elements of the dovish Peace Now, and other anti-settlement groups, who threatened to launch a massive protest in Hebron next Friday.

The Israeli government must realise that its kid glove policy is encouraging settlers and their patrons to challenge authority so openly. The government has the power to put an end to settlers' ambitions in Hebron, but its failure to dislodge the many Jewish nests established in the Arab city under the previous Likud government implies tacit approval of the settlers' plans.

In one of his recent reports, Pinhas Inbari, *Al Hamishmar* correspondent in the occupied territories attributed the increasing resistance activities against the occupation authorities to the escalating oppressive policies of the Israeli government and the outrageous practices of Jewish settlers in the occupied territories. The government's failure to stop the settlement drive in Hebron and in the rest of the West Bank will trigger more violent reactions from Palestinian residents of the occupied territories. That is when the real drama will begin.

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"Anti-Racist" Law Forces Arabs to Accept Inferiority

by Nadim Rouhana

The Israeli Knesset passed on July 31 an amendment to the Basic Law of the country banning parties or lists from running for election to the Knesset on any of the following bases: 1. incitement to racism; 2. negation of Israel's democratic character; or 3. negation of Israel's existence as the state of the Jewish people. The amendment passed by a vote of 66-0 with the abstention of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) and the Progressive List for Peace (PLP).

The amendment — dubbed the "anti-racist" law — is designed to prevent two phenomena that characterised the last elections in Israel: The success of the openly racist Kach movement which was able to send Kach leader Rabbi Kahane to the Knesset, and the emergence of the Progressive List for Peace just a few months before the elections, which made an impressive standing among Arab voters. The PLP sent two representatives — an Arab and a Jew — to the Knesset.

Indeed the Central Elections Committee attempted to prevent both Kach and the PLP from running in the 11th Knesset elections held in July of 1984 by disapproving both lists. The committee's decision was overruled, however, by the Israeli High Court. The new amendment to the Basic Law changes the procedure by which a party or list can appeal such a ruling: A disapproved list can no longer submit an appeal to the High Court itself, but must ask either the chairman of the Central Elections Committee, at least one third of the committee members, or the attorney general to appeal on its behalf.

The new amendment represents an attempt by the Knesset to deal with both racism and anti-Zionism. But by dealing with both Kach and the PLP in one blow, the Knesset is perpetrating a misperception strongly held by the Israeli public in which the two — Kach and the PLP — are seen as equivalent. The two lists were considered equally extremist and dangerous to Israeli society. This imposed equality between the two lists which is encouraged by the Israeli mass media sometimes escalates into an equality between their two leaders: Meir Kahane and Mohammed Mi'ari.

Kahane's basic goal is the expulsion of the Arabs (of Israel and the occupied territories) out of the country because their presence represents a desecration of God's name and the superiority of the Jewish people. Mi'ari's basic goal is full equality between Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories next to Israel. An attempt to portray these two points of view as equally extremist is like an attempt to equate a set of beliefs that considers superiority of one group over all others as central with another set that sees equality of all groups as essential. Yet the Israeli Knesset and the Israeli mass media have accepted such a balance, which borders on the absurd. This would never be possible in a Western democracy. For example, in the US it is not imaginable that the legislative bodies or the media would equate an ideology that considers Protestants superior in their qualities and rights to all other ethnic or religious groups in the country with an ideology that calls for the equality of all groups including Blacks, Jews and all other Americans. This distortion can only be understood within a particular Israeli context, taking into consideration the Zionist ideology of the state. Indeed, the imposition of this balance tells much about Israel and its ideology.

Since its creation, Zionism emphasised the Jewishness of the future state. Zionism is still obsessed to an almost pathological degree with the Jewishness of Israel, regardless of its other non-Jewish citizens. This obsession is behind the massive denial on all levels of anything not Jewish in Israel, including the denial that every sixth Israeli citizen is an Arab or, according to the Zionist lexicon, a "non-Jew." This amendment to the Basic Law represents yet another level of denial of 16 percent of the citizens of Israel.

In this case it is a denial of their basic right to be equal to the Jews. By requiring the Arabs to accept Israel as the state of the Jewish people rather than as the state of all its citizens as the Knesset members from the PLP and the DFPE suggested, the law requires the Arabs to accept their inferiority to the Jews. The law requires them to agree that any Jew anywhere in the world has more rights to their own homeland than they themselves, simply because that person is a Jew.

If they did accept the law, Arabs would indeed be consenting to be inferior as a collective and inevitably as individuals, and would be legitimising legislation that perpetrates their inferiority. But if they reject the law, Arabs will not be allowed to run for the Knesset. It is not incidental therefore that the PLP and the DFPE helplessly abstained from voting. This then is a conscious demand for a significant minority of the citizens of Israel to agree to conditions that contradict basic human dignity, simply because they are not Jews. It leads to the preference of one group — the Jews — over others in Israel, and that preference is now been constitutionalised by this new amendment. Whether intentionally racist or not, Zionism is driving the legislators to take more steps that are racist. Such legislation will deepen the existing inequality between Arabs and Jews by legitimising it and making it legal.

Israel, a country run according to the democratic values of the West, fell short of extending democracy to all its citizens. This amendment shows very clearly that Israel is not an absolute democracy; it is rather a democracy for its Jewish citizens and Jewish potential citizens, but not a democracy for its Arab citizens. Indeed this does not contradict the basic theme of Zionism which calls for a country for the Jews. However, this amendment brings to the foreground yet another deviation from basic democratic values because of Israel's adherence to Zionist values. The new amendment brings the contradiction between democracy and Zionism to a further stage.

In order to run for elections, which is a basic civic right, the Arabs in Israel would need to manoeuvre to comply with the requirements of the new amendment that institutionalise their inferiority. If this manoeuvring requires them to cheat or lie in order to exercise their rights, they will choose other ways to achieve them. A collective decision and behaviour *a la* Land Day of 1976 is relevant in this context — collective struggle to restore basic rights.

The law should also be seen within the context of Israeli extremism and the increasing violence against and open hatred of Arabs. Expressions of anti-Arab sentiment are so legitimised in Israel that meetings between Arab and Jewish pupils are becoming an issue of debate. The phenomenon of Kahane is hitting deep and ringing bells in some Israeli circles, including those who steer the country.

Continued on page 13

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

What Really Happened in Afula

by Fayez Abbas

"We Arabs in Israel are not hostages in the hands of extremist Jews. We have the right to move about in the land of our forefathers at will. Israeli extremists will not bar us from carrying out our daily social and political activities."

This was the cry heard all over the Galilee and Triangle in the past few weeks in the aftermath of the anti-Arab attacks in Afula, following the killing of three Jews. How did the "Afula events" — the term coined by the Israeli media — take place considering the fact that Afula has been until recently a relatively quiet town as far as Arabs were concerned?

During the past few years, the number of Arabs working in this city of 30,000 has reached more than 3,000. Arabs work in factories, garages, restaurants and businesses in Afula. During the past few years a number of Arab businessmen have been able to buy or rent a number of businesses, mostly restaurants, coffee shops and garages. Arabs have worked hard and sincerely in these self-employment opportunities and have succeeded financially much better than expected.

This Arab success has also brought with it the wrath and anger of Jewish businessmen in the city. Many of these businessmen started worrying about their own businesses and the possibility that they might lose out in the competition with the hard-working Arabs.

Jewish businessmen in Afula started taking advantage of the general anti-Arab atmosphere that has been prevailing in Israel in general. The advent of Kahanism and its blind hatred of Arabs only added oil to an already burning pot. Kahanism, however, is not new. Scores of high-ranking Israeli officials have, since the creation of Israel, prepared and implemented plans that would make life unbearable for Arabs. An example of this was the statements of the Israeli education minister in the 1950s who said that he wanted to see Arabs "as woodcutters and gardeners only."

But the merchants in Afula in 1985 had reached the conclusion that Arabs were no longer only woodcutters and gardeners. Many have become successful businessmen and exceeded the profits of the Jewish merchants, who have been known for hundreds of years for their business acuity. So the incitement campaign began, first in a quiet way and with the help of the municipality which is headed by a Knesset member from the right-wing Likud party.

One merchant relates his experience with the municipality: "Last year, I rented a restaurant and started working in it. One week later a policeman came and asked to see the license. When I told him it hadn't arrived from the municipality, he wrote out a ticket and I had to pay a very steep fine. When I clicked with the municipality about my license, they said that it was lost and that they were not prepared to issue a new license for a place run by an Arab."

The restaurant owner continued to work despite the continued fines he was made to pay until the "Afula events." At that time, 20 Jewish youths broke into his restaurant and threatened: "If you do not leave for good, we will cut you up in pieces." The Arab owner had to leave Afula and return to his village. He has since decided not to return, not even with a Jewish partner. This is only one of hundreds of similar incidents in which Arabs were quietly encouraged to leave.

One hundred [illegible] about these earlier incidents but was asked not to by Afula merchants. These incidents did end in the closure of shops owned by Arabs. The latest incidents were simply the straw that broke the camel's back.

Naturally, following the criminal events that took place in Afula against Arabs and the wide coverage they received, Arabs have been made vulnerable in any Jewish sector. The problem now is that Arabs are vulnerable to *any* regular Israeli, not only to quiet official pressure like before. Before, Arabs were the victims of attacks by police border patrols and the green patrols. But now, as a high Israeli police official said, "The presence of large numbers of Arab workers among Jews is like a time bomb that threatens to blow up whenever any incident, regardless of how small, takes place."

This prediction has come true to a certain extent in a number of Israeli factories during the past few weeks. In one incident, fighting broke out between Arab and Jewish workers. The Arabs were arrested while the Jews were left alone. This official sympathy towards Jewish workers only increases the anger and hostility. Even during the Afula events, no Jews were arrested and held specifically on charges of attacking Arabs. Some of the demonstrators were arrested for holding an illegal demonstration only. The attacks against Arabs were so violent that many required hospitalisation. One in particular has been in intensive care, yet no one has been arrested or charged.

Problems and disagreements between Arab and Jewish workers are not new. People working at the same plant often have disagreements. The problem now, however, is that any fight between Arab and Jew will be turned into a sectarian fight. And for sure the Arab worker will be beaten, arrested and fired from his job, while the Jewish worker will be free to beat up Arab workers at will.

Fayez Abbas, a resident of Kufr Kanna, is the Galilee correspondent for Al Fajr *Arabic daily.*

"Anti-Racist" or Anti-Democratic?

by Mark Marshall

If the Israeli government's new "anti-racist" legislation was not intended to be anti-democratic as well, then it is completely irrational. If, on the other hand, the government knew what it was doing when it presented the bill, then all democratic-minded Israelis have cause for grave concern about their government's intentions.

The main difficulty emerges from the provision within the amendment to the Basic Law whereby Knesset lists can be barred from participating in elections on grounds of "negating the existence of the state, as stated in the proclamation of the establishment of the state of Israel," ie the Declaration of Independence. (The quote is from Aryeh Rubinstein's report in *The Jerusalem Post* of July 10).

According to the Declaration of Independence, the state of Israel is a state of the Jewish people, by the Jewish people, and for the Jewish people. As MK Geula Cohen (Tehiya) has pointed out (see Aryeh Rubinstein's "Hard debate," *The Jerusalem Post*, July 26), this raises some very awkward questions as far as democracy is concerned. For example, if non-Jews become the majority in Israel, how can the state be both "democratic" and "Jewish" (as it must be, according to the new legislation)?

Is such a combination possible in any case, regardless of who has demographic superiority? As the noted American linguist and commentator professor Noam Chomsky wrote several years ago:

"Israel will have to come to terms somehow with the fact that it is a Jewish state governing a society that is in part non-Jewish. This fact, rarely faced in a serious way, has always been the Achilles heel of political Zionism. If a state is Jewish in certain respects, then in these respects it is not democratic...

"It has frequently been suggested that the Jewish state is to be Jewish only in the sense that France is French or England is English. This is patently impossible, however. An immigrant who receives French citizenship is French. If there is some form of institutional discrimination against him, if he is not "truly French" in the eyes of the law or administrative practice, this will be regarded as a departure from the democratic ideal. A citizen of the Jewish state, however, does not become Jewish. This is a matter of principle, not a departure from some ideal norm toward which the society strives." (*Peace in the Middle East?: Reflections on Justice and Nationhood.* New York: Vintage Books, 1974, pages 126, 127).

It was inevitable that one day the state of Israel would be forced to choose between Jewishness and democracy. The emergence of Kach and the Progressive List for Peace has brought the day of reckoning closer. For the former, Jewishness is the supreme value, overriding such considerations as democracy and human rights; for the latter, a secular, non-ethnic "Israeliness" (or "Palestinian-ness" — it doesn't matter what it's called) is the supreme value, overriding such considerations as a perceived need for "a Jewish state in *Eretz Israel*."

The government has responded to this challenge by proposing to proscribe not only "racial incitement," as any decent government must do, but also parties that negate "the democratic character of the state" and parties that negate "the existence of the state as set forth in the Declaration of Independence" (quotations from Mr. Rubinstein's article of July 26). The government is thus attempting to be all things to all people — a very dangerous undertaking. The government does not consider it appropriate for citizens who do not share its vision of "an eternal (and Jewish) state of Israel" to have representation in the Knesset. On the other hand, the government professes to want only democratic parties to participate in the political system. But as Chomsky has pointed out, to the extent that the state is Jewish, it is not democratic; and, conversely, to the extent that the state is democratic, it is not particularly Jewish. The state of Israel is thus like a schizophrenic whose two identities are on a collision course. With this attempt to buy a little more time, the government threatens to advance the date of the collision, because in order to affirm "the democratic character of the state," it is necessary precisely to negate "the existence of the state as set forth in the Declaration of Independence."

The "anti-racism" law, therefore, if applied with equal vigour to both its principal target-groups (the "democratic"-negators and the "Jewish"-negators), will effectively bar all Zionist and non-Zionist lists from the Knesset. In other words, political parties would be abolished in Israel. With what does the government propose to replace them?

Mark Marshall is an exchange student for the summer at Bir Zeit University. He is currently enrolled at McGill University in Canada.

by Amal Hassan

Student Exodus to Foreign Universities Increases

Upon graduating from high school a certain phase of one's life comes to an end and a new and more critical phase begins. The choices made at that point are crucial, for within them lie one's future.

Along with that high school diploma come certain decisions and responsibilities all students must assume. But Palestinian students in the West Bank and Gaza face tougher decisions than most because of the limited number of higher education institutions and the restricted programmes they offer, and because of the oppressive political, social, and economic situation in Palestine. Some choose to enter the job market right away, others decide to get married and start families, and fortunately, a large majority decides to continue their education. However, Palestinians are increasingly seeking higher education outside the West Bank and Gaza.

According to Mohammed Omarn, director of the Council for Higher Education, approximately 30 percent of all Palestinian students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip choose to study abroad each year. As the political situation worsens, the number is expected to continue rising. This has begun to be an issue of major concern. The more Palestinian youths flock abroad to secure their futures, the fewer remain to secure the future of Palestine.

There are numerous reasons that prompt our youth to leave Palestine, and each student has his or her own motives. According to Albert Aghazarian, director of Public Relations at Bir Zeit University, one of the main reasons that prompts young Palestinians to seek outward help is "the limited degree of absorption in our local universities." This year alone approximately 13,000 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip took the *tawjihi* (high school matriculation) exam. The maximum number of students that local colleges and universities can possibly absorb annually is 4000. Bir Zeit University admits one out of every six applicants — or 600 students annually — at best. What of the other 9000 students who want to further their education? They must seek help in alternative places.

Since there are a limited number of Palestinian higher education institutions in the West Bank and Gaza, the universities tend to be very selective about their students. Sometimes they only admit students who score in the 70s, 80s and 90s on the *tawjihi*. As a result, the students who score in the 50s and 60s find it very difficult — if not impossible — to be admitted. Those students who are admitted to local universities face two serious problems. The first is frequent military-ordered university closures. Palestinian students are very eager to get moving with their lives and they fear that all the university closures might block their efforts to finish college on time. Putting that aside, upon admittance, they have only a restricted number of majors to choose from. They lack critical choices like medicine, law, and agriculture, subjects that are very popular with Palestinian students abroad.

Others go abroad for non-educational purposes. "People leave because they can no longer handle the political and economical situation," Omarn told *Al Fajr*. "They seem to be fed up with the political situation and they are eager for a fresh start." Others leave with no genuine reasons. "They leave expecting to find prestige. Prestige is very important to them," said Rana Nashashibi, a counselor at the Jerusalem office of AMIDEAST, an American foundation that seeks to improve Arab-American understanding through educational exchange. They want to experience life in a different society. It is often their first trip outside their homeland, and they go filled with warm expectations that more often than not let them down.

Hisham Ahmad is a student who studied at Bir Zeit University for two years. He then decided to continue his studies in political science at Illinois State College, where he received his BA degree. He now says that he would advise students to stay and study here, "at least at the undergraduate level." He describes the quality of education at Bir Zeit as "good" and says that it prepared him sufficiently to continue his education in the US. He also admitted to having held "high expectations of the US," although he now says that he would advise other students to reduce these expectations. He recalls that some of the biggest problems he faced were social. "Here the social ties are much stronger; people are more willing to cooperate. There it's different because their concerns are very different than ours."

Bashar Abd al-Jawad, 19, also speaks from experience. After high school he decided to continue his studies in France. He studied languages for a year but then could not decide what major to choose. His parents wanted him to study engineering but he wanted to study psychology. He then decided to come back home and study at Hebron Polytechnic. This fall he will head for yet another foreign country, the Soviet Union — but this time with definite plans for a career in psychology. He now says that he would advise students "to know what they want and to set definite educational and personal goals for themselves before they leave, because you can easily lose yourself in another society." After Abd al-Jawad receives his degree, he plans to return to his homeland and "serve the Palestinian people to the best of my ability."

Palestinian students, like all students, frequently suffer a lot of mental stress when they go to a foreign country to study. They often haven't been realistically prepared for the experience. "They expect it to be much greater than it really is," remarked John Viste, Director of AMIDEAST. "When they get there they receive a cultural shock. Everything is 100 percent different," said Omarn. This causes many psychological problems that can be very destructive. Aghazarian expressed a similar opinion: "Unfortunately, most of our youth are not conditioned to cope with the particular characteristics and complications of foreign societies. They cannot possibly cope with a foreign society if they don't come to grips with their own society. They have to polish an awareness of their own society first."

Palestinians expect to find new challenges, adventure, and a sense of new found freedom abroad. Palestinian youths view the West and East in idealised images as a reflection of what they see on television. But Palestinian students abroad soon realise that there aren't that many doors open to them, and that, as Palestinians, they may be targets of discrimination or harassment.

Palestinian students must also face some serious academic adjustment. There are many mixed opinions on whether or not Palestinian students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are academically qualified to study abroad. Viste believes they are, "particularly students in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Ramallah, where they have had a lot of exposure to foreign languages." Others, like Rana Nashashibi, believe that language could cause a barrier. "The Americans are more critical thinkers than we are and they have a lot of class discussions which our students aren't used to," she said. Our students often go without any notion as to what studying in the US is really like," said Amal Nashashibi, Assistant Director of AMIDEAST.

Getting accepted into a college abroad is not an easy task. It is often a long and complex process, filled with endless applications and tests. Many students are confused as to how they can enter foreign colleges, and where they can go for help. There are some institutions that students can go to such as AMIDEAST in Jerusalem. AMIDEAST helps students find colleges and universities in the US and Arab countries that offer the best programmes in their particular field of study and explains all the requirements and application procedures.

Some might say that by supplying students with information on schools abroad, AMIDEAST and institutions like it may indirectly be encouraging students to leave their homeland. However, Amal Nashashibi fimly believes this isn't true. "We are simply offering them the services if they insist on going abroad." AMIDEAST strongly suggests that students remain at local universities if their desired majors are available, especially at the undergraduate level. In order to encourage students to remain in Palestine, AMIDEAST has set up scholarships for the local universities to give to deserving students.

AMIDEAST receives 200-300 students monthly, the majority of whom are males. Viste explained some of the reasons for the variation: "Women in Palestinian society don't have the same opportunities as men, unless they come from a liberal family. Women also tend to get married at a younger age and they get caught." However, at the graduate level the percentage of women enrolled is higher. At that stage women are believed to have a bit more independence and leverage, while men often have to quit after completing their undergraduate education to support their families.

If students insist on going abroad there are several requirements that they should be aware of. For undergraduate studies in the US, *tawjihi* scores are needed. But according to Viste, "Americans don't place that much emphasis on the *tawjihi* scores but rather on the courses taken in high school and grades received in them." One must also be able to supply three letters of recommendation, SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) and TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) scores. At the graduate level, American shools place emphasis on the written statement, or statement of purpose. This generally includes why students want to attend a particular school and what characteristics they feel they might add to the university environment.

As students grow more interested in going abroad, some institutions are exploiting this new wave. These "commercial" institutions claim to offer services to students such as guaranteeing acceptance in a school abroad or visas to a given country. Students should know that no one can buy a visa. However, a small fee for filling out applications is permissable. But if the amount of the fee is very steep, then the institution should be double checked for legitimacy.

Sadly, there is little anyone can do to stop the student exodus. Since the 1948 crisis, Palestinians have placed a high value on education, thus earning themselves the reputation of being one of the most educated and highly skilled peoples in the Middle East. Unlike material objects, what one has in the head can never be confiscated. Palestinians may have received that education in the US, Europe, or the USSR; it doesn't really matter. But what does matter is that all Palestinians who are being educated around the world return to their homeland so we can build a stronger and more knowledgeable Palestine. ■

Amal Hassan, of al-Bireh, served this summer as a student volunteer at Al Fajr English Weekly. In September she will begin her freshman year at Riverside Community College in Riverside, California. She intends to major in journalism.

Heroism in the Golan: Residents Continue Their Struggle Against Occupation

by Said al-Ghazali

Druze villager Mahmoud Safadi (left) stands in the centre of Majdal Shams. He sports the traditional headdress and moustache of the Druze./SA photo.

The successful struggle against Israeli occupation Druze residents of the Golan Heights waged as a result of their unity and resolve to face whatever their principled stand would bring is still enticing many visitors, journalists, political activists, researchers and scholars to the Golan to study this modern case of heroism. I made my trip to the Golan Heights last week to witness for myself this brave struggle and to piece together a story, not only of their past efforts, but also of their current sacrifices.

It took me four hours from Jerusalem to the Kiryat Shmona settlement. In the taxi the presence of three Israeli soldiers travelling to the main Druze village of Majdal Shams did not stop three Druze women in the same car from talking about the "imperialistic signs," referring to the Israeli flags fluttering in the breeze atop the buildings of the Jewish settlement.

The rear of Majdal Shams reclines on Mount Hermon from the north. The village is strategically located overlooking the Hula Valley in the south. It borders the ceasefire line between Syria and Israel from the east and Israeli settlements in the south.

A panoramic view of the village, whose inhabitants number 7500, reveals a green landscape spotted with the houses of villagers. It lies peacefully among groves of apple trees at an altitude of 900 metres above sea level. One easily observe one or two Syrian policemen guarding the borders.

At the village centre, a large clock stands on a stone pillar. Few villagers are out at noontime. Some older men walking in the square wear the traditional Druze dress.

I make my way to the house of Salman Fakhr ed-Din located only a few metres outside the village square. Fakhr ed-Din is a man of medium height with a cheerful spirit. In his mid-thirties, he is strong and sports no moustache like Druze traditionalists. His voice is distinctly sharp like sword strokes. His speech is impressive.

He lives in a two-room apartment with his wife, Zahiyeh, and two children, Raya (banner) and Tahrir (liberation). Fakhr ed-Din served two years in jail for infiltrating and crossing the borders. His favourite subject of conversation is politics, and he offers a distinct view of the current political situation. "The Palestinians must take advantage of the contradictions pending between the Druze Socialist Progressive Party and the Amal movement (in Lebanon)," he says, adding, "The Palestinian Salvation Front did not cash in on these contradictions." He criticises the role of Syria in Lebanon and its unwillingness to fight Israel and liberate the Golan Heights. He does not hold back from criticising the Palestinian-Jordanian political moves and the Damascus agreement, "which gave an opportunity to some Lebanese movements to continue their war of attrition against the Palestinian camps," he says. Finally, the conversation turns to the current situation in the Golan Heights.

First a bit of background: On December 14, 1981, the Israeli Knesset passed legislation which in effect annexed the Golan Heights to Israel. Since then the authorities have attempted to enforce such annexation by imposing Israeli identification cards on Golan residents. On February 13, 1982 as the Israelis stepped up their annexation efforts by arresting four leaders in the Golan Heights — among them Fakhr ed-Din — the Druze responded by declaring an open strike.

On June 19, 1982, the strike ended and a settlement was proposed. The terms of the settlement between the Arab Druze community in the Golan Heights and Israel after the five month and six day strike have been repeatedly and blatantly violated since then by the Israeli authorities. The authorities did not keep their promise to keep the bridges to Syria open, nor their promise to find an alternative solution to accepting Israeli identity papers. The authorities also agreed not to insist on Israeli citizenship, not to harass the Golanis, not to confiscate land, nor to continue other measures which would worsen the already harsh conditions in the Golan Heights. "Most of these terms have not been respected," said Fakhr ed-Din. He said the Israelis refused to define the Druze as Syrian nationals on their identification papers and work and travel permits. He added that since the strike the authorities have begun to pressure the Golan residents in various ways.

Perhaps a visitor to Majdal Shams could get the wrong impression as he sees a village free of checkpoints with no soldiers roaming the streets. However, the truth is that the Israelis continue to train an eagle eye on the Golan and its activities. Dozens of young people are routinely summoned to police headquarters for questioning, threatening or whatever. In Acre, scores of Druze youth were detained for lectures, threats, and even imprisonment for short periods ranging from a week to 25 days. The most dangerous problem the Golanis face, however, is Israeli attempts to destroy their livelihood. On the pretext of protecting nature, the Israeli green patrols are waging a relentless war against shepherds and their herds of goats, numbering nearly 5400.

A Druze lumberjack from Majdal Shams returns with a truckload of timber he cut from one of the Golan forests. The lumberjack, who cuts timber for an Israeli firm, told *Al Fajr* that he cuts three truckloads of timber a day which his company uses for firewood./SA photo.

Stealing Goats

On July 18, 1985, shepherd Jamil Mer'i sent his 20-year-old son, Nayif, to graze 272 goats in the Skaik region, 4 kilometres southwest of Masa'ada village. Around 11:00 am, 3 military jeeps — carrying 24 soldiers — and 3 big lorries arrived and approached the goat herd. The soldiers put Nayif in shackles, herded the goats into the lorries, and drove away. One of the military jeeps stayed behind and the soldiers kept a watchful eye on Nayif for an hour-and-a-half to allow the lorries carrying the goats to travel further away. The remaining jeep then drove off.

Nayif began screaming, calling for help, and residents of Masa'ada hurried to his rescue. Some tried in vain to trace the lorries. Five days later, Jamil Mer'i discovered that the green patrol soldiers had sold his goats to an Israeli merchant in Lod for IS80,000 per head. Mer'i went to the merchant and bought back his goats for IS130,000 each. He was forced to pay IS300,000 each for his breeding goats. The animals were then brought back to Masa'ada. All in all, Mer'i had lost more than IS18,000,000, not to mention the cost of transportation and the erosion resulting from devaluation of the money he will receive from the authorities when they return the money the green patrol made from the original sale of the goats after four or five months.

This incident sent waves of alarm throughout the Golan villages and residents' faces were stamped into masks of fury mixed with firm resolve to fight this measure of incredible harassment. Three days later a similar attempt was made in the Beqa'ata pastures when a jeep and three lorries drove near a herd of 1000 goats. Beqa'ata residents had taken the precaution of sending a vehicle with a driver to escort the goats, and thus foiled the attempt. When the driver noticed the military vehicles through his field glass, he set off an alarm and immediately hundreds of Masa'ada villagers came carrying sticks to fight the assailants. The military jeeps were forced to leave. Samih Ayoub, a young activist in the Golan Heights, said; "What can we do? They want to hit us in the most sensitive and effective area — our livelihood."

Israeli officials of the green patrol summoned about 20 Golani shepherds to a meeting in Jerusalem on August 5 where the villagers were told they must sell their herds in one year because the goats "destroy nature." The shepherds were told that the Israeli authorities would check on the process of selling the goats every three months. The shepherds suggested they begin raising cows instead of goats and asked for pasture land, but their proposal was turned down. Mufid Abd al-Wali, a young shepherd with a BA in Business Administration from Damascus University, was among those in the shepherd delegation. Al-Wali said the authorities claim they want to protect nature and protect the forests from the goats while at the same time, they cut down the trees. "This is merely false justification and part of the reprisal measures directed against us," he said.

Dangerous Negligence

Another means of harassment has been the negligence of the military who carry out manoeuvres with live ammunition near the Golan villages. Often, shells and other devices are left lying around and several Golanis have been injured. Salman Ali Salameh, 15, from Masa'ada lost both his legs on July 17 when an explosive device left lying around suddenly went off. Salameh was grazing his father's goats in the Balbis mountains, eight kilometres north of Masa'ada. Salameh is now confined to a wheel chair until he can be fitted for artificial legs. He will lose a great deal of time from the next scholastic year, which he will eventually have to repeat.

Majdal Shams./SA photo.

Salman Ali Salameh, 15, from Masa'ada had both legs blown off by an explosion of a shell left lying near his village following Israeli army manoeuvres./SA photo.

Despite this incident nothing has been done to remove the potential danger of explosions erupting at any moment. Salameh's father recalled another incident which took place last year in Masa'ada when an artillery shell suddenly hit and killed 12 goats and another struck a water tank. The Israeli authorities did not even bother to investigate the incident or look for the exploded shell. He also recalled the names of others such as Faisal Safadi, who lost his fingers, and Mohammed Safadi, who lost one of his eyes. One village woman recalled other names of persons maimed by the blasts such as Saleh Abu Jarar, 17, who was wounded in his right side and arm; Assad Said Mahmoud, 25, who lost his legs; and Mufid Abd al-Wali, who lost his hand.

The villagers told *Al Fajr* that the authorities are using other means to harass the goat herds. The authorities brought wolves to the area to kill the goats. The villagers resisted this step by poisoning the goats killed by wolves, so that their meat could not be used. The authorities have also waged a campaign against deer in the Golan area and many have reportedly been killed.

Unity Against Occupation

Sheikh Ahmad Qadamani, a prominent leader in the Golan Heights who was also among the 13 Golanis arrested during the strike, told *Al Fajr*: "The main problem we have been encountering since 1967 is the occupation itself. The rest of our problems are just minor."

One of the plots by the authorities is the appointment of village league-type councils to govern the Golani residents. But instead of legitimate leadership, they represent the collaborators and petty thieves. They are merely brokers and land dealers with little popularity and a poor reputation among Golanis. "Only two weeks ago there was a rumour that the authorities appointed collaborator Turki Ajami to replace Hayel Kinj as the head of the village council in Majdal Shams," said Qadamani. Kinj was imprisoned in the 1950s in Syria on charges of spying. "In Masa'ada, Muhsen Abu Saleh is the head of the council and Mursal Amasheh in Beqa'ata and Hayel Dabous in Ein Kinya. All are traitors," he said.

Qadamani spoke of poor living conditions in the Golan Heights. There is only one health clinic in every village, and the doctor is available only twice a week. Ten teachers have been dismissed since the strike. The total number of teachers dismissed since 1967 is 35. "The most important thing," Sheikh Qadamani said, "is that we now have national unity in the Golan Heights. We are happy and very proud because of the principled stands we made against the occupation. We are self-reliant people and do not take orders from anyone or any government. We did not flee from our villages because our bond to our land is very strong. Our heroism, which we inherited from the great Syrian revolution and even in our distant past, made us an important part of the Arab nation."

Fakhr ed-Din from Majdal Shams explained, "After the strike suspension, all the people here tried to resurrect what was left of their life. The most threatening danger we faced then was the fear of losing our new found nationalism. Therefore, we maintained a strong unity between our tradition and our national aspirations. It was actually very simple to do. We are an offshoot of Islam and our culture is an integral part of Arab culture. The Israelis can confiscate our lands and deprive us of our civil rights, but they can never tell us who we are. We are Arab Syrians who took an active role in the revolt against French occupation."

Fakhr ed-Din continued: "Like all truly committed Arabs, we advocate Arab unity and we have a developed abhorrence to occupation and imperialism. Based on this awareness, we succeeded in making a compromise between both our secular and traditional leaderships on the issues of type of struggle, political stands, and authority."

Fakhr ed-Din, as well as most Golanis, speaks proudly of social unity and cooperation. "Those collaborators who violated our social consensus are simply not part of the Druze community," he said. "After the strike, there was a radical change in our social life. We became strongly united. This is easily observable in weddings and funerals. We developed a cooperation and voluntary spirit. Together we opened roads in the Golan villages, constructed houses and shared the general burdens of life. We also developed a plan for cultural activities and community works through the league of university students and graduates which we formed last year."

Education

One of the most important areas hurt by the occupation is education. The students of the Golan Heights are banned from pursuing their higher studies in Damascus. The border bridges the authorities agreed to keep open in 1977 for Golan Heights students — as well as families visiting their relatives in Syria — was closed after the strike.

In addition to higher studies, there is only one secondary school in Masa'ada, six elementary schools in the four other villages and one preparatory school in Majdal Shams. The available classrooms can absorb only 30 percent of the students with the rest attending classes in rented storerooms. After the strike, the Israeli authorities dismissed 20 teachers, 10 of them being asked to sign a new work contract. The teachers refused and considered this measure a punishment since their past years of service were not acknowledged. Another 10 teachers were dismissed immediately after the strike for political reasons.

A member of the Students' Guardians Committee said that the dismissed teachers were replaced by unqualified instructors. The Syrian curriculum was also completely changed and replaced by an Israeli curriculum based on what the Israelis say is Druze culture. "However, our students did not believe the Israeli civics books." The students have also been forced since 1967 to take off Saturday while all of the Golan is off on Fridays.

Israeli Druze Support

The impact of the Druze struggle in the Golan Heights has gone far beyond Golani borders. It has also served to unite the Israeli Druze who have expressed sympathy with their co-religionists. The Druze of Israel, subject to long years of brain-washing campaigns, saw in the Golan Heights struggle a clear example of the course they themselves should have taken. They have now reached the stage where they are engaging in a full support campaign backing the demands of the Golanis. Until now, the Druze Arabs in Israel have been given more rights than the Muslim and Christian Arabs. They have been taught to identify more with Israel and less with their Arab heritage. They even serve in the army.

Sheikh Ahmad Qadamani said, "We did not plan to have such a potential impact on the Druze of Israel. However, through our struggle, they came to the conclusion that they had fallen into a dangerous rift and been deceived by their *sheikhs* and traitors. We cannot claim that we alone brought this positive stand into existence. There have always been Arab Palestinian Druze nationalists who did not accept occupation."

Residents of the Golan Heights understand the Israeli position which considers it only a matter of time before the official annexation of the Golanis translated into changes on the ground. There has been no change in Israeli policy since the 1981 Knesset vote and even since the eve of the occupation in 1967. For a long time, the Israelis have been trying to impose a *de facto* annexation on the Golan Heights.

There is also nothing particularly new to their methods in the Golan. They follow a similar policy in the occupied territories where they confiscate land, harass nationalists, construct settlements, divert water sources for the exclusive use of settlers, interfere in the local education curriculum and curtail any economic and development projects by local residents. This policy has been actively pursued and implemented as well in the Golan Heights.

During the 1967 war, 104 villages on Mount Hermon were completely detroyed by Israeli war planes and only six villages remained untouched. These six are Majdal Shams, Masa'ada, Ein Kinya, Beqa'ata, Ghajar and Sehita. Israeli settlers cultivate more than 540,000 dunums of confiscated land in the Golan Heights, and 36,000,000 cubic metres of water were diverted to Jewish settlements.

According to official Israeli statistics which are made to serve the interests of the occupation, the number of Jewish settlements constructed in the Golan is 26. But in February, 1982 the Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported that there are 33 settlements in the Golan and that authorities plan to build 4 more. The settlers will number about 20,000 and there are already 20 factories and skiing facilities on Mount Hermon for the settlers.

The old Syrian educational system was replaced by a new Israeli one whose purpose is to drive a wedge between what it calls "the Druze character" and the Arabs. The thrust of this curriculum, which has also been taught to the Druze of Israel since 1948, is to say that the Druze have nothing in common with the Arab world.

This interference in basic civil rights reached its climax during the strike when the Israelis attempted to force residents to accept Israeli identification papers by the use of force, humiliation, and communal oppression. The Golanis were even unable to contest the Israeli moves by appealing to the Israeli High Court in Jerusalem. Thirteen Golani residents who were arrested during the strike filed a complaint to disqualify the illegal annexation of the Golan Heights and to stop the issuing of ID's, but the High Court issued a verdict on May 22, 1983, ruling against the Golanis. The court claimed that the

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Salman Yousef Abu Saleh stands on the rooftop of his home overlooking Majdal Shams./SA photo.

Al Fajr begins a new section reflecting through contribution and translations from the Israeli press the current scene in Israel.

Morbid Symptoms

by Michael Lowry

Angry Israeli crowds in Afula salute Kahane (inset).

The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interegnum, a great variety of morbid symptoms appears." — *Antonio Gramsci.*

I. Kahane's Desublimated Zionism

Twenty thousand anonymous messages of public support in the July 1984 elections catapulted Rabbi Kahane out of the boondocks of Israeli politics and onto the Knesset rostrum. Although he lacked any form of institutional support save for his parliamentary immunity, over the past year Kahane has managed to win thousands of disaffected members of what was once Begin's constituency into his following.

Bypassing the mediating role of the state, Kahane offers his adherents a desublimated Zionism, which celebrates their importance as the "master race" and frees socially taboo impulses by projecting them on the Arabs. Kahane, self-appointed nemesis of the Jewish people, has extended the parameters of Israeli political discourse into the domain of racist incitement by claiming to openly express "what others only dare to think" — a strategem that could not have met with the success it did were it not for the widespread racism on which the Zionist regime relies for inducing political conformity.

But Kahane's greatest asset, his unrespectability, has made him vulnerable to the designs of the political establishment which for the past year has been threatening to sacrifice him both in expiation of its own "sins" and in order to buttress an image of "moderation" for its own extremist policies.

When Daniella Weiss, the general secretary of Gush Emunim, was asked what distinguished her movement from Kahane, she replied that whereas Kahane wants to be allowed to "tackle the problem of the Arabs, we in Gush Emunim wish to concentrate on building up the interests of the Jews. That's a different approach" (*The Jerusalem Post*, July 26, 1985).

And indeed, Weiss is correct: For while Gush Emunim may share Kahane's objectives, the confusing approach which argues that "in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District the basis for coexistence and lasting peace is being laid by the development of two quite separate systems of local government" (Shaul Ramati, *The Jerusalem Post*, July 25, 1985) is alien to the Kach mindset. However in day-to-day practice, this "difference of approach" — as Weiss so astutely put it — has not brought Kahane and his thugs into conflict with Gush Emunim or any of the other segments of the Israeli right.

II. The Pragmatics of National Unity

With the erosion of the traditional hegemony of the Labour establishment and the failure of Begin and the Likud to achieve anything similar, the politics of consensus has given way to a politics of coercion — of which Kahane is only one exponent. Along with the other nascent fascist leaders hustled into the forefront of the Israeli right in the wake of Begin's political demise, Kahane has been promulgating a tribal unity which denies the alienation of which it is a product and which defines the Arabs as "the enemy race."

In the year that has passed since the 1984 elections, Prime Minister Peres has been too intent on securing at least a modicum of the concensual legitimacy enjoyed by his Labour Party predecessors prior to the October 1973 war to pay much attention to Kahane's apotheosis as the "scourge of the Arabs." Not that Peres has condoned Kahane's pernicious brand of Jewish supremacy; he hasn't, but his condemnations have been diluted by his quest for a national unity with politicians whose views do not significantly differ from those of Kahane.

The affair of Mr. Hadani, director of the state-religious school division of the Ministry of Education, is a case in point. Hadani forbade pupils in state-religious schools (who make up approximately 20 percent of the school population) to participate in meetings with Arab pupils organised by the Ministry of Education with the aim of promoting democratic values and Jewish-Arab coexistence. Rejecting allegations of racism, Hadani claimed that his ban on Jewish-Arab meetings was motivated by his fear that such meetings could lead to "intermarriage," and when he came under public fire, the Chief Rabbinical Council lost no time in coming to his defence.

Now, Peres and the Labour Alignment cabinet ministers cannot afford to alienate the religious establishment — whether over Mr. Hadani's directives, the status of the Ethiopian Jews, or the sale of pork. For the religious establishment is performing an important political function for the regime by stressing the "God given" character of existing social institutions — from the nuclear family to the nation state. And Peres has come to rely on its blessings.

So it was that in rejecting demands to release recently convicted Gush Emunim terrorists, the President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, quoted Rambam — a medieval Jewish theologian — rather than the law of the state to lend his refusal an air of authority.

III. July 1985

Throughout the month of July, the government assiduously implemented its programme for economic recovery: wages were eroded, thousands of workers were laid off their jobs, local councils went bankrupt, and the Health Ministry put 6000 old and sick geriatric and psychiatric hospital patients on a diet of bread, gruel and tea, to name but a few of the effects of "economic stabilisation."

The Histradrut Labour Federation, opting to protect the interests of its own economic and bureaucratic empires rather than represent the interests of the workers, wound down its deliberations over a general strike and settled into its traditonal docility after a few token gestures of rebellion.

As the month wore on, Defence Minister Yitzak Rabin held fast against critics of the economic programme who demanded larger cuts in the defence budget; ominously forecasting war with Syria, Rabin and the defence establishment refused to cede any of the military's power and wealth, and the masses, failing to perceive the connection between the continued maintenance of Israel as a warfare state and the decline of their standard of living, let matters rest.

IV. The Politics of Lynching

On Sunday July 21, two teachers from Afula (an underdevelopment town in the north of the country) were reported missing. A few days later, their bodies were found in a cave and the police arrested three young men from Arrabouna, a village on the West Bank.

That same day, Afula residents went on the rampage, beating up anyone whom they thought was Arab and calling for a lypching.

"A chubby policeman tries to calm down the mob: 'I'm just carrying out my orders,' he says. 'I think the same as you, but I have to do what I'm told. Actually, I'm a Jerusalemite,' he tells the crowd, 'I'm taking a sergeant's course in Afula... Be nice,' he begs the angry mob, 'after all, we're all Jews.'

" 'We want a lynching,' the mob roars. 'Death to the murderers! Instead of putting them on trial, bring them here, to the townsquare, and then just give us 10 seconds... The law's been trampled underfoot. Our flag is dripping blood. The state is finished" (Leah Inbal, *Koteret Reshit*, July 31, 1985).

Later that day Kahane arrived on the scene and was hailed by the mob as the minor-messiah.

But the lynch hysteria was not confined to Afula. A week-and-a-half after the deaths of the two teachers, *The Jerusalem Post* published an article by Yosef Goell, a member of its editorial staff, in which he argued that "The concept of 'murdering terrorists' is a contradiction in terms. I have nearly been tempted to resort to the analogy of wild animals. But I have nothing against wild animals, and I certainly do not believe they should be killed. Terrorists, however, are mankilling animals. As such, they cannot be murdered. They can, and must, be expunged from human society... Ideally, potential terrorists should be made to live with the perception that they will be torn limb from limb by the enraged citizenry on whom they seek to prey. Terrorists, as opposed to enemy soldiers, should be classified as outlaws, in the biblical sense of *damo mutar* (the shedding of his blood is permitted, and even enjoined, upon every one of us)" (Yosef Goell, *The Jerusalem Post*, August 8, 1985).

Goell also accused "dovish leftists unable to distinguish between the 'rights' of murderous terrorists and the rights of Arabs innocent of terrorist activity" of driving "many Israelis to argue that 'I don't like Kahane, but you have to admit there is something to what he says.' "

Singling out *Koteret Rashit* editor Nahum Barnea for special reprobation, Goell lashed out at the magazine for launching what he calls a "crusade against the army" which manifests itself in focusing undue attention on the cover-up of Brigadier General Mordechai's responsibility for the death

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Book review by Kate Rouhana

The West Bank Mayors: Product of Liberalism or Nationalism?

Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of the Mayors Under Jordan and Israel
by Moshe Ma'oz
Frank Cass & Co, London, 1984. 216 pp.

Moshe Ma'oz's book on the West Bank mayors is the first in-depth study on a neglected but very important topic. The Israeli scholar has gone to great lengths to examine documents captured from the Jordanian Secret Service in 1967 and files of the military government in the West Bank, something he could easily do in his capacity as Adviser on Arab Affairs to the Defence Minister and Coordinator for the Territories between 1979-1980. The scope of the study is wide: it attempts to trace the evolution of the municipalities and their mayors from the first days of Jordanian rule (indeed, from the Ottoman Empire) to the present time. Apparently the task the author set for himself was to analyse the historical forces that contributed to the watershed of the 1976 elections, when more than half of the councillors and mayors elected were strongly pro-PLO — an outcome that took the Israeli government by surprise and one which it tried in various ways to undo. By 1982, all except one elected mayor had been dismissed, some deported, and others crippled by Jewish terrorists.

Palestinian Leadership in the West Bank is a valuable source book for those interested in West Bank politics because it documents in detail the stormy ups and downs of the post-1976 period and shows quite clearly that the Israeli government has entangled itself in an almost irresoluble dilemma by pursuing a policy of contradictions. Yet there are certain shortcomings, both academic and political, that weaken the book.

Palestinian Leadership is written in nine chapters. The first provides an historical context and overview of Palestinian nationalism in the West Bank over the last 100 years. The second three chapters involve a comparison between the Jordanian and Israeli styles of rule in the West Bank — their legal and organisational framework, the degree of autonomy each gave the mayors, the level of popular participation in government, etc. The remaining five chapters are primarily a chronological account, divided according to various actors (the mayors, the Israelis, the PLO), of post-1967 developments in two phases: until 1976, and from 1976-1982. The 1976 elections, a chapter in themselves, come in the middle of this sequence and are portrayed as a dramatic turning point. Indeed, the chapter on the 1976 elections is the strongest and most interesting of the nine.

The main task of the book is "to trace and analyse the process of [the mayors'] political ascendancy through the municipal system under Israeli rule." Ma'oz points to several factors and trends throughout the book which he considers to have led to the change in the mayors' role from docile local administrators to outspoken West Bank-wide leaders, and specifically to the 1976 turnabout. These include: 'liberal' Israeli rule prior to the Likud era as opposed to 'authoritarian' Jordanian rule; the rise of the PLO internationally and in the West Bank; the continuation of Israeli occupation, with its attendant harassments; and socio-economic change. All of these are analysed in various depths at different points in the book. Ma'oz never comes to decisive conclusions about the relative importance of each of these trends, yet the very structure of the book and the amount of space given to each gives the reader the implicit message that, in Ma'oz's opinion, the first factor — 'liberal' Israeli rule — was the most significant. Proving the 'liberal' nature of Israeli rule was so important to Ma'oz that he dedicated three chapters — or one-third

of the entire book — to comparing and contrasting it with Jordanian rule and making the point that it was a major factor in the growth of nationalism in the West Bank.

While it may be true that the Jordanian government gave the municipalities little leeway, Ma'oz tries too hard to prove that Israeli rule was liberal and in doing so, glosses over some major facts, primarily in the early years. For example, he asserts that the main goal of Israeli policy in the occupied territories is to assure the population's well-being, and to hold on to the territories only so long as it took to make peace. While these may have been the policies as of 1967, they quickly changed and, long before the ascendancy of the Likud, the intention to return all of the territories had become *passe*. Likewise, Ma'oz asserts: "In an attempt to return civilian life to its former pattern, Israel maintained the legal framework inherited from Jordan, and the only change inaugurated was to introduce the names 'Judea' and 'Samaria' instead of the 'West Bank' on 23 September 1967." Thus the change of the area's name is mentioned as if it was insignificant, when in fact symbolically the name change implies a permanent incorporation of the area into Israel proper, not, as suggested, a willingness to trade it for peace. He goes on: "The Israeli government chose to continue the legal *status quo* from the Jordanian period in accordance with international law..." Nowhere is it mentioned that the military used the 1945 British Emergency Regulations to issue hundreds of military orders affecting all aspects of life in the West Bank, orders which already numbered 200 by the end of 1967.

Ma'oz devotes far too much space and energy to the 'liberal' nature of Israeli rule. The fact is that the situation on the ground was the main catalyst behind the mayors' politicisation. Whereas under Jordanian rule the populace was represented by a government which dealt with political issues, under Israeli occupation they had no government. So the mayors naturally began to deal with the new problems their constituency faced, and these were primarily related to the status of being occupied rather than ruled by a government.

The argument that Israeli 'liberal rule' was a major factor in the transformation of the mayors' role is further weakened by the fact that there is no quantitative data in the entire book. Ma'oz relies on examples to back up his assertions, but the reader has no way of knowing whether these represent the rule or the rare exception for the area as a whole. Hard data on all municipalities is sorely lacking, particularly where the book makes wide-ranging assumptions.

The other processes Ma'oz asserts influenced these changes are given short shrift relative to Israeli 'liberal' rule. Ma'oz gives inadequate coverage to the rise of the PLO, in part because he himself is so ambivalent towards it. Thus on the one hand he tells the reader that the PLO gained influence and popularity in the West Bank, particularly in the early 1970s, and on the other he paints a highly negative picture of the organisation itself and makes it look as if all this influence was merely gained by political blackmail and threatening to assassinate anyone who deviated from the line.

The impact of socio-economic transformation is only lightly touched upon, and then inaccurately. Ma'oz asserts that the socio-economic changes taking place in the West Bank were "a result of Israeli policies of full employment and public expenditure" rather than of massive land confiscations, migrations, economic control and linkage to the Israeli economy, and the consequent crippling of the West Bank economy due to restrictions on industry and any independent businesses that would compete with Israeli products. To mention economic transformation without referring to land confiscation, emigration and proletarianisation is poor and misleading scholarship.

In conjunction with the politicisation of the mayors, Ma'oz points to the 1976 elections as the major evidence that a great shift had taken place in the West Bank towards nationalism, a shift that he explains by all the various factors outlined above. Yet Ma'oz apparently did not consider the likely possibility that the only, or the primary, catalyst behind the 1976 election results was the extended suffrage the Israeli government granted, which drastically expanded the number and characteristics of voters. It is quite likely that this nationalism was always equally strong, but only lay latent because of *hamula* (extended family) control over the municipalities which was facilitated by the limited suffrage. In the first chapter, Ma'oz cites an incident that supports this argument: "In 1966 two Jordanian cabinets were brought down as a result of violent pro-PLO anti-government demonstrations in the West Bank. These demonstrations were quelled by the Jordanian army, but the resurgent feelings of Palestinian nationalism were further fostered in the West Bank as in other Palestinian regions." Hence widespread support for the PLO existed before the Israeli occupation, indeed before the PLO had really made a name for itself. Perhaps if the Jordanians had expanded suffrage, the 1976 elections would have happened in 1966. This process was primarily a function of external Palestinian and Arab developments, coupled with the strain of protracted occupation and the socio-economic transformation of the West Bank that Ma'oz briefly refers to. His emphasis on the liberal Israeli occupation is misplaced and irrelevant.

Although ostensibly academic, the book is quite political. It begins and ends with political statements, questions and suggestions. By the end of the introductory first chapter Ma'oz poses a set of purely political questions: "What, then, will be the future roles of these leaders [Qawasmi, Milhem, Shawwa, Khalaf, Freij], as well as other nationalist mayors of the West Bank, with regard to the possible solutions for the territories and for the Palestinian problem? Can they become, and under what circumstances, an alternative to the PLO in a 'Jordanian solution' or in the Camp David autonomy plan? Or are they likely to constitute the leadership of a Palestinian demilitarised state within a Jordanian and/or confederated system?" (Apparently an independent Palestinian state is not within the range of possibility.) Ma'oz makes it clear that these questions, raised in manner that makes one look for the book's main point in them (and not find it), will only be addressed in the last chapter.

The political questions and answers stuck on at the beginning and end of the book are not really answered by the analysis and chronological account in between. Part of this is because of the unresolved tension between dealing with the mayors as the central focus (eg, the title of the book and the questions posed in chapter 1) vs. dealing with the municipalities as institutions regardless of who runs them (eg, the chapters comparing Jordanian vs. Israeli rule). If the municipalities are the major focus, then only process, not personality, should matter — one can assume with a

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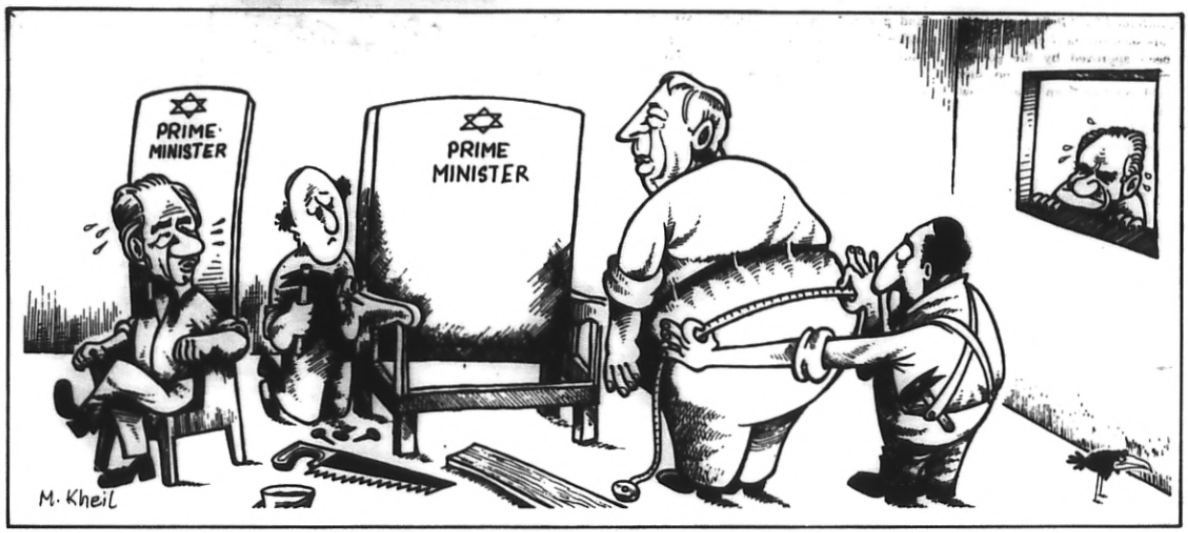
ARAB PRESS



Palestinian newspapers gave major coverage this week to Jewish attempts to settle in the Casba quarter of Hebron, the escalating civil war in Lebanon and Murphy's diplomatic mission.

Local papers ran photos and lead stories on the ultra right-wing Knesset member sit-in in a vacant house in the heart of Hebron.

In Beirut the escalation of the civil war was evident by the scores of Lebanese killed in three car explosions in a period of one week.

The mission of US Special Envoy Richard Murphy was treated in a variety of ways by the local press. *Al Quds* daily ran an eight-column headline August 18 saying that Murphy's mission had made a positive turn. The following day, however, *Al Quds* retracted, saying that Jordan and the PLO had been disappointed by Murphy. *Al Sha'ab* also lead with a headline calling Murphy's mission a failure. *Al Mithaq* condemned Murphy's mission while *Al Fajr* maintained a low profile on the outcome of the US diplomatic mission.

Dialogue Without Pre-Conditions

Though the US administration asserts that its dialogue with the joint delegation is the result of an 'independent' American decision, Shultz's statements indicate that this American decision is not totally independent. It is basically compatible and coordinated with the Israeli position. It is amusing in this regard to find the *Washington Post* saying that "the US does not want to race with Israel in its move toward peace." Which move and what race is that?

Israel, under its present government, cannot take a decisive decision to face the peace projects. And since Israel is unable to do that, it follows then that the US will be unable to do so also. It seems that the US expected the recent Arab summit to make further concessions. Did it expect it to deprive the PLO of its Arab legitimacy and strategic support? The outcome of the summit was quite the opposite of what the US expected. It renewed its support of the PLO, under the leadership of Yasir Arafat, and also renewed its interest in Arab solidarity. So, it is up to the US now to prove the independence of its decision through actual dialogue.

AL FAJR
August 15

What Price For American Recognition?

When the Palestinians party to the Amman agreement declare that their aim from the joint move is to get the US to recognise the PLO, they are trying by doing so to make the Palestinian people believe that they are the only winner in this game. Israel and the US are the only losers.

But the defenders of the Amman agreement totally ignore what the representatives of the Jordan regime are doing and saying to establish their positions inside the occupied territories. High-ranking Jordanian officials stated that they are seeking negotiations on the basis of 242. They also ignore what American officials are saying that their aim is to prepare for direct negotiations with Israel. The Palestinian official leadership has abandoned the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state, and the independent representation of the PLO. Instead, it went along with the Jordanian regime in accepting the American demands. The most prominent is the formation of a joint delegation and the way of choosing its members, and their quality. Eventually it is Israel and the US which will choose the members of the delegation.

The Palestinian leadership paid a heavy price and is still paying. It has abandoned everything and accepted the American and Israeli conditions.

AL TALI'A
August 15

The Real Test

All American moves in the Middle East are bound by Israel's acceptance or rejection of such moves. The US used to justify its complete alignment with Israel on the assumption that the Arab world is not interested in peace in the Middle East. But when the Arabs changed their 'No's' into 'Yes', the US could not resort to its old justifications. So, the US invented a new device by dividing the Palestinians into categories — such as a PLO man, a pro-PLO man, a moderate and an extremist.

The Palestinian people replied to that by rallying round the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians. And the Palestinian leadership went a step further by presenting the names of the persons to be members of the joint delegation. The whole world knows now that the Arabs are interested in peace. So, Murphy's visit to the area should put things in their proper place. Either the US agrees to meet with the joint delegation, or it continues to cooperate with Israel to find an excuse to reject the Arab move toward peace. This will be a real test for the American intentions.

AL QUDS
August 16

Additional Evidence

The PLO defined its conditions and vision for starting a dialogue with the US right from the beginning. This dialogue aimed at securing US recognition of the PLO. This would lead to an international conference under UN sponsorship. The PLO's conditions aimed at securing guarantees to protect the position and role of the PLO and maintain the PNC resolutions.

By contrast, the US has always considered the dialogue as a means to liquidate the PLO. It tried to blackmail the PLO into giving more concessions. But the Palestinian leadership held its ground. The reports about the failure of Murphy's mission are additional evidence that it is impossible for the US to bypass or ignore the role of the PLO.

AL SHA'AB
August 17

Contradictions

The US is really strange. While Murphy says that his country has not changed its attitude toward dialogue with the joint delegation, it makes the condition that this dialogue must lead to the advancement of the peace process. In other words, the US says it did not change its attitude regarding meeting with the joint delegation, and at the same time, it refuses to meet with it. The US wants the meeting to advance the peace process, as if Jordan and the PLO had not been working on the advancement of the peace process for the last three years. What is the Amman agreement all about then? Why did the Arab leaders meet in Casablanca?

We might say that Murphy should have concluded his statement by saying that the US is ready to meet with the joint delegation if Israel agrees, instead of saying that the meeting should advance the peace process. The whole world realises that the Arab side is really interested in a just, lasting peace. What does the US want from the Arabs after their declaration in Fez? And what does it want the PLO to do after it had agreed to take part in an international conference? Does it want the Arabs to be ridiculed by the whole world? The US' total alignment with Israel does not indicate that it is serious in its search for peace. To the US and Israel we say that they should reveal their real attitudes.

AL QUDS
August 19

Settling the Towns

Settlement of Arab towns is part of the Israeli settlement policy carried out for a long time by various means. The attempt to settle the heart of Hebron is only a phase. It complements the previous attempts aiming at establishing settlements in populated or unpopulated Arab areas. All these settlement attempts have one objective in common, ie, to force the Arabs out of their land in preparation for annexing it or using part of it as a bargaining card in any future negotiations, sought currently by Arafat.

AL MITHAQ
August 19

Land Fraud

Continued from page 1

tablished on the West Bank) had been approved by the government when, in fact, no such decision had been made. However, on the strength of Zur's confirmation, Israeli land developers purchased land.

The former Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Micha'el Dekel, was also called in for questioning this week. At the same time, details about Bank of Israel financing of the land deals began to emerge.

In the meantime, West Bank landowners have begun to lodge complaints with the police about extortion, forgery and intimidation in connection with land purchases, some of which, police believe, are tied into the land scam.

HaAretz reported the Ministry of Justice land office has cancelled the establishment of new settlements on the West Bank because of suspicions that the land on which they are to be built was acquired in an illegal manner.

On August 21, Knesset members from the Citizens' Rights Movement (CRM) presented a list of documents to the Knesset which they claimed proved government complicity in the land scam. Most of their accusations were directed against former minister Micha'el Dekel. MK Yossi Sarid said that the majority of West Bank land deals were carried out through forgery, extortion, and intimidation. The CRM Knesset members spoke at length about the connection between the illegal land deals and Israeli settlements.

The CRM have turned the list of documents over to the government legal adviser and have made allegations about the involvement of a number of different official bodies, including the Israel Land Authority, the West Bank military government, and the civil administration.

CALENDAR

August 23,

Theatre: *Sharshooh* directed by Radi Shehadeh, a play by children for adults, at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre. Tickets IS3000. 7:30 pm. Tel: 288189.

August 24, 25

Film: *The Fertile Memories* directed by Michele Khalifyeh at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati theatre, Jerusalem. 7:30 pm. Tel 288189.

AL FAJR congratulates Said and Suad Ass'ad on their wedding August 16, 1985 Mabruk

Peter Parker's article on the West Bank health situation published last week was reprinted from the June 8 issue of the British medical journal *Lancet*.

Golan

Continued from page 8&9

issuance of Israeli identity cards to Golanis was "a technical issue which is necessary to run the affairs of the local residents in the administered territories."

However, the Golan Heights residents' resolve against Israeli occupation and annexation has remained firm and unbendable. They have maintained their strong loyalty to their homeland, Syria, and they commemorate the national anniversaries such as Syrian Independence Day. In September 1982, together with other residents of the occupied territories, the Golanis demonstrated against the massacres in Sabra and Shatila. The Golanis also waged a very successful social and religious war against those Druze who accepted Israeli citizenship. A number of the 200 residents who took Israeli identification were discovered during the Israeli general elections and were shunned by the entire community. This ban proved so effective that the number of ID holders has tremendously decreased. Fakhr ed-Din told *Al Fajr* that there are only a few left, not more than 10. Even the leader of those with Israeli IDs, Salman Mahammed Abu Saleh, repented after the ban proved so effective that his insurance company went bankrupt.

What impressed me most is that the entire community of Golan Heights residents seem to be unified, sharing an astute political awareness. For all those to whom I spoke in the Golan, regardless of educational background and occupation, their smaller homeland is Syria, but their larger homeland is the Arab world. Perhaps this unity is due to the enclosed nature of their society and to the system of self-education they practise.

I met Mahmoud Safadi, 65, who had served six-and-a-half years in jail for political activity. He is a farmer who is left without land after the confiscation of his 30-dunum plot. He wrote a book containing his personal impressions of Israeli jails, but no institution was willing to print it. Though his body is fragile, his strong will is reflected in his voice. "It is our duty to struggle and offer up all types of sacrifices," he said. "If we want to succeed in our struggle, we should be willing to sacrifice."

Muhseneh Qadamani will travel this year to the Soviet Union to study pediatric medicine and then come back to serve her people in the Golan Heights. She is now offering her free service to the Druze community as a secretary of the League of University Students and Graduates in the Golan, which includes 90 members and 50 other honourary members. She said, "We are helping to promote a sense of commitment through the League. Every Friday, we have a lecture and every Saturday, community work. Golani women participate in these activities."

Farmer Salman Yousef Abu Saleh, 60, has spent most of his life in Majdal Shams. He reared a family of 14 and sent two sons to university. One of them, Yousef, is a dentist and the other, Atef, is a graduate student in English literature but works as a farmer. During the occupation, Abu Saleh lost 130 dunums of his land which rests partly at the border. He now cultivates seven dunums of apple trees and another twenty dunums, which must depend on rain for irrigation.

Abu Saleh has offended no one but speaks openly of the fact that he is a Syrian Arab. This fact caused him to be the victim of collaborator violence when his house was set on fire the night of April 16, 1982. "I am sure the arsonists are the armed collaborators," he said, adding, "The dignified, self-reliant Druze prefer the hell of occupation to the paradise of submission and acceptance."

It is clear that the Golan Heights struggle is a useful example and revolutionary lesson for many. Armed only with their strong will and readiness to sacrifice everything for the sake of preserving their national identity, the Golanis today are still capable of facing the brutality of the occupation and its measures.

Mayors

Continued from page 11

kind of historical determinism that if the West Bank has become solidly nationalistic and pro-PLO, a representative of these same colours would be elected in any free election. Ma'oz has focused on a handful of individuals to understand history, in keeping with the continual Israeli search for alternatives to PLO leadership. And while he does look at larger processes — some more than others — he keeps coming back to these men.

The main reason why the political questions and answers do not merge with the analysis in between is that Ma'oz raises unanswerable questions about the future that no amount of analysis can resolve. In the last chapter, he tries to answer them with pat formulas that have been around for dozens of years and so far have not worked. It seems inappropriate for an historian who is a citizen of one of the countries involved to come to a conclusion about which solution is 'best' — particularly one who stressed his objectivity at the beginning of the book. But Ma'oz does, more or less, when he concludes: "A constructive and useful option for a political solution for the West Bank and Gaza is to incorporate these territories within a Jordanian-Palestinian federation or confederation. The framework for the Palestinian section of such a federation has been provided already by the Camp David accords..." This is a clearly judgmental statement, particularly as it follows a long analysis of why a Palestinian state would not work.

Despite his privileged access to classified sources and his stint as resident Arabist for the military government, Ma'oz, like many other Israeli scholars who write on the Middle East, asserts in his introduction that "my participation in policy-making in the West Bank has not biased my scholarly approach to this delicate and controversial subject." Presumably Ma'oz is referring to objectivity; however, while he apparently tried quite hard to present all sides of the story (except for the PLO's), there are too many typically Israeli refrains that punctuate the study repeatedly and detract from its scholarly weight. Although considerably open-minded, Ma'oz has a few remaining political blind spots that thwart his ability to see the situation as a disinterested observer would. So the analysis dances around certain preferable political outcomes, while rejecting others, and almost tries to force itself to fit the answers Ma'oz wants to give to the questions posed in the first chapter.

While one appreciates Ma'oz's honesty in revealing his government experience, one wishes he and many other Israeli scholars would admit to having biases, like any other party to a protracted zero-sum conflict, and point out that these biases might have influenced their work in various ways. The claim to academic objectivity ultimately misleads both themselves and their audience.

The worst example of such bias in *Palestinian Leadership* is Ma'oz's repeated references to the PLO as an organization that terrorizes all moderates and is standing in the wings with a gun, ready at a moment's notice to assassinate anyone willing to compromise. This creates the dangerous perception that threat, blackmail and assassination are policies commonly adopted by the PLO as an organization, a claim which is patently absurd. As in any other society, such random acts, when they do infrequently occur, are the work of disaffected individuals who take the law into their own hands. To make such an assertion is tantamount to declaring that the Gush Emunim underground in the West Bank was given orders to commit the Islamic University massacres by the Israeli prime and defense ministers.

The repeated use of value-laden adjectives to describe the various mayors is biased and unscholarly. Ma'oz chose to use the terms 'radical' and 'militant' vs 'pragmatic' and 'realistic' almost every time he referred to one of the mayors by name. This is not only unnecessary; it is irritating. It would have been enough to describe their political positions once, and then to refer to them only by name. The terms 'moderate' vs 'hardline' would have been far less value-laden and more accurate.

Ma'oz's political biases come through most clearly in the last paragraph of the book. First, he asserts that the mayors are the "authentic leadership of the West Bank (and Gaza)." In the next sentence, he qualifies it: "Indeed, the *realistic* Palestinian mayors in these regions have over the years constructed close working relations with all these parties....Having been elected by their urban political communities, *these* mayors remain the legitimate and credible representative of the Palestinian people on the West Bank" (emphasis added). But neither Ma'oz nor the Israeli government has the right to decide who the authentic leadership of the Palestinians in the West Bank is, only they themselves do. The only courageous way to find out the answer is to ask them directly, through a vote.

Despite these shortcomings, *Palestinian Leadership* is still worth reading because it deals with a little known and controversial topic and documents in depth the increasingly repressive Israeli approach towards the West Bank in the post 1977 era.

Anti-Racist

Continued from page 5

If the Israelis really want to combat such phenomena, they must ask themselves why they are equating a movement that is openly racist and represents values that humanity rejects with a list whose platform calls for equality, peace and justice for all. They should ask why their ideology is by Zionist consensus driving a minority to conditions whereby they will never be equal to Jews, no matter what they do. Answers to these questions are prerequisites to dealing with Kahane and the increasing manifestations of racism in the country. As long as the answers are not given, the march of racism will proceed victoriously. This new legislation is but one step in the same direction.

The Israeli legislators are in fact responding to and reflecting the general mood in the Jewish public instead of examining the phenomenon of extremism and searching for ways to manage or contain it. Merely bowing to the public's hysteria creates a larger dynamic of extremism in the country's public and institutional arena that might become hard to stop, and that could lead to a different type of regime.

The Israeli legislators are probably oblivious to the fact that they are introducing an anti-democratic measure in an era in which nations are increasingly demanding and achieving democracy, equality and justice. The new measure simply contradicts modern times. Why don't they learn from the developments in South Africa — in more than one direction? ■

Nadim Rouhana, from Isfiya on Mount Carmel, is a professor of psychology at an-Najah University.

August 14, 1985

2 NABLUS MEN JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Sbeih Abu Taha of Nablus to 7 months in prison and 13 months suspended on charges of stone-throwing and raising the Palestinian flag. The court also sentenced Mohammed Abdullah al-Kusa, also from Nablus, to 7 months in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

BUS STONED

An Israeli Egged bus was stoned as it drove through the neighbourhood of Ezrat Tora in West Jerusalem. Israel Radio said one of the bus windows was smashed, but no one was hurt.

MILITARY CAR STONED

An Israeli military vehicle was stoned as it passed the Galilee village of Majd al-Krum, Israel Radio said. No injuries or damage were reported in the incident.

TRIAL POSTPONED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah postponed its hearing into the case of journalist Hamdi Farraj, of Dheisheh refugee camp, and 12 other men charged with security offences. The court's next session will be held on October 30.

YOUTHS RELEASED

Israeli authorities released Fayez Farouk of Qalandya refugee camp after he completed a 3-month prison term on security charges. The authorities also released university student Jibril Elias al-Bakri of Hebron after being held in detention for 18 days.

RAFAH MERCHANT JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Hassan Shehadeh Hijazi, 43, a merchant from Rafah, to 1.5 years in prison and 2.5 years suspended on security charges. Hijazi was detained on January 19, 1985.

MILITARY GOVERNOR HALTS MOSQUE RENOVATION

The Israeli military governor of Deir al-Balah in the Gaza Strip summoned notables of the town and ordered them to halt renovation work at a local mosque. No reasons were given for this decision.

ASKAR YOUTH JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Jamal Abd al-Kader al-Qunbari, 19, from Askar refugee camp to 9 months in prison and 11 months suspended on security charges.

August 15, 1985

BOMB DISMANTLED

Israeli police sappers safely defused a bomb found in a public garden in Neve Tziona near Tel Aviv. Israel Radio said the police found pamphlets near the bomb stating that the PLO was responsible for placing the explosives charge.

GRENADE ATTACK

An Israeli army patrol was attacked with hand grenades near the town of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip, Israel Radio reported. No injuries or damage were reported, and troops conducted an intensive search, the radio report said. Several residents were rounded up for questioning.

JERUSALEMITE GETS 2.5 YEARS

An Israeli military court sentenced Yunis al-Amouri, a student from Shu'fat, north of Jerusalem, to 2.5 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

NABLUS YOUTH HELD FOR POLICE ATTACK

Israeli police detained an Arab youth from Nablus suspected of attacking a policeman in the city's old market last week, the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* reported. Faris Fathi al-Sha'abi, 23, allegedly assaulted the policeman as the latter was trying to arrest him. He managed to escape, but was arrested several days later, the paper said.

Volunteers cart away debris during the Jaffa voluntary work camp held last week. The virtual non-existence of municipal funds for such projects in the Arab quarter necessitates such popular action.

Boy scouts try their hands at art work and cleanup during Aida camp last week in Bethlehem.

WEST BANK YOUTHS SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Jamal Mustafa from Bazaria village in the Nablus district to 4 months in prison and 6 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. The court also sentenced Nidal Zeid and Abd al-Rahman Kawwas from Qalqilya to 20 months in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of preparing molotov cocktails and attempting to purchase weapons.

In Ramallah, an Israeli military court sentenced Yusef Hassan Mohammed Kitlo, a student from Dura in the Hebron district, to 3 months in prison and 7 months suspended on securitry charges. The court also sentenced 5 youths of al-Arroub refugee camp, near Hebron, to various prison sentences on political charges: Abd al-Qader al-Titi, 4 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence; Amjad Mousa Yunis al-Titi, Khaled Mohammed al-Titi and Jamil Rushdi Issa, 8 years in prison; and Anwar Abd al-Fattah Jadu', 10 years in prison.

August 16, 1985

BALATA CURFEW LIFTED

The Israeli army lifted a curfew imposed on Balata refugee camp near Nablus Thursday night following an attempt on the *mukhtar's* life. During the curfew troops and border guards conducted house-to-house searches and rounded up males aged 15-40 in the main square for night-long questioning. The *mukhtar*, Abdullah Jibril al-Bishawi, was injured in the left shoulder when two unidentified assailants fired several shots at him in the camp.

HIGH COURT BLOCKS DEPORTATION

Israel's High Court blocked the deportation of freed prisoner Khamis Hussein Nasrallah, a resident of Beit Furik in the Nablus district, and ordered the military authorities to explain within 21 days their expulsion decision. Nasrallah, who was released in the May 20 prisoner-exchange, was notified a few weeks ago by the military of the decision to deport him on the pretext that he is a "non-resident" of the occupied territories.

JALAZON TEACHER SACKED

The Israeli officer in charge of education in the occupied territories has decided to dismiss teacher Intisar Husni al-Sheikh Qassem from her job. Intisar, a resident of Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah, was assigned to her job on October 14, 1984. She was previously imprisoned and fined on security charges.

2 JALAZON YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Hisham Qassem Mustafa Abu Shanab and Jamal al-Abed Zeid, both from Jalazon refugee camp, to 1 year in prison on charges of stone-throwing.

August 18, 1985

GRENADE THROWN AT MILITARY

A hand grenade was tossed at an army vehicle as it drove on a road east of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Army troops and border guards sealed off the area and conducted intensive searches for the attackers. No injuries were reported.

NAJAH STUDENTS APPEAL DETENTION

Four students from an-Najah University in Nablus, recently held for six months under administrative detention, appealed to the president of the Israeli military courts against their arrest.

ISRAELI CAR STONED

An Israeli motorist was injured in the eyes and leg when his car was stoned on the Tulkarm-Bala' road. The vehicle's windshield was shattered. Troops scoured the area, but no one was apprehended.

BOMB EXPLODES IN NETANYA

A bomb exploded in the Israeli coastal town of Netanya. Israel Radio said no one was injured and no damage was done in the blast.

CALL FOR LIFTING NABLUS TRAVEL BAN

A delegation representing the Chamber of Commerce in Nablus met with the city's military governor and asked him to lift a travel ban imposed on residents of Nablus following the killing of an Israeli in the Old City, August 8. The delegation also called on the governor to reopen an-Najah University, which was closed by the military authorities for two months.

August 19, 1985

MILITARY FIRE BOMBED

A petrol bomb was hurled at an Israeli army vehicle as it drove on the coastal road between Gaza and Jabalya refugee camp. No injuries were reported. Troops scouring the area detained a number of Arab farmers for questioning.

August 20, 1985

3 YAMOUN YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Walid Khalil to 4 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and weapons training. The court also sentenced Ihsan Ibrahim al-Labadi and Hassan Lutfi al-Labadi to 1 year in prison and 2 years suspended on charges of membership in the organisation. The three youths are residents of Yamoun village.

WOMAN FREED

Israeli authorities released Khawlah al-Azrak, a resident of Aidah refugee camp in the Bethlehem district, after completing a 3-year prison sentence. Khawlah was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and preparing explosive charges.

"No to Suppression, No to Deportation, Yes to Peace": An Israeli demonstrator protests the deportation of Khalil Abu Zayyad in front of the ex-prisoner's home in Azzariyeh. /AFP Photo

BURQA MAN GETS 7 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Zaher Mohammed Haza', 24, from Burqa village, to 7 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and illegal possession of a pistol. The same court sentenced Nasri Mohammed Ibrahim Hamran, from the village of Hamriyeh in the Jenin district, to 33 months in prison and 17 months suspended on identical charges.

TOUBAS TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

Israeli authorities lifted a travel ban imposed on residents of the town of Toubas in the Jenin district. The 20-day ban included residents over 30 years old. It followed the mysterious death of two men from the town whose charred bodies were found in their car near Nablus earlier this month.

In another development, three youths from Toubas who were held by the Israelis were released after 15 days in detention. The three are: Muwafak Tawfik Atiyeh, Ekab Daraghmeh and Hassan Mohammed Hamed.

BALATA YOUTH GETS 7 YEARS

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Riyad al-Sahili, 21, of Balata refugee camp near Nablus, to 7 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of illegal possession of weapons and setting fire to the car of three suspected collaborators.

August 21, 1985

VILLAGERS APPEAL LAND CONFISCATION

The Israeli Military Objections Committee held a session in Jerusalem to discuss an appeal by villagers frm Um Safa and Jibia in the Ramallah district against the confiscation of a 3000-dunum plot owned by residents of the two villages. The authorities decided last year to confiscate the land on the pretext that it was "state property."

BOOKS CONFISCATED

Israeli soldiers raided a number of bookshops and newspaper stands in Gaza. They confiscated several books and detained the owners of the businesses.

Symptoms

Continued from page 10

of two bus hijackers in April 1984. "Neither Tat Aluf Mordechai nor any of the soldiers who risked their lives in freeing the bus hostages were in any way remiss in the performance of their duty," wrote Goell. "Interrogation of the captured terrorists, by any means, including torture, in order to discover the details of the booby trapped satchel and the grenade still on the bus was essential."

However, Goell fails to explain why torture — which in this case appears to have been fatal — was so essential when the bus had already been stormed, the passengers freed, two of the hijackers killed, and the other two taken prisoner.

V. Seizing the Opportunity

The day the suspected murderers of the Afula school teachers were arrested, Defence Minister Rabin issued orders for their families' homes to be demolished. The crime of the suspects' families — kinship.

An army spokesperson was on

but rather, by the fact that the victims had been killed in the middle of an extra-marital tryst.

" 'The murderers,' said the spokesperson, 'lay in wait for couples who come to — ' he swallowed his words and made a motion with his hand. 'Write,' he said, 'couples who come to hike on the hill.' One journalist, from a Labour [movement] newspaper said in a delicate voice, 'I wrote — to be alone.'

" 'Just don't quote me,' said the officer, 'As far as I'm concerned they came out here for a nature walk — flowers and trees and all that. That was the order we received'" (Leah Inbal, *Koteret Reshit*, July 31, 1985).

Through the final week of July, the Israeli press, especially the tabloids, compensated for their reticence about the teacher couple by making wild accusations about the suspected murderers. Labelled "terrorists" although the police denied they were connected with any Palestinian organisation, the appellation served to create the impression that terrorism was on the rise and had to be dealt with with "an iron fist."

When a few days later, on July 31, an Afula resident who operated a mobile canteen in the Nablus military government compound was shot in the centre

Meir Cohen-Avidov, the government felt obligated to act — and adopted a "get-tough" policy in the occupied territories which included the reinstatement of administrative arrest and deportation without trial. Najah University was closed down for two months, five Palestinians were placed under administrative detention, and an ex-political prisoner was arbitrarily chosen to be issued with deportation orders.

In the meantime, the national unity government felt obliged to dissociate itself from Kahane.

Ariel Sharon told a Tel Aviv Herut branch audience that "the problem of Kahane would disapper when there is security in the Land of Israel and when Jews are not attacked. "This cannot be achieved by legislating laws," said Sharon (*Hadashot*, August 8, 1985).

Speaking to the Knesset Labour faction, Peres, accused the Likud of having "let the genie of Kahanism out of the bottle" and hence having to pay the price: a defection of support from the Likud (via Tehiya) to Kach.

But Peres did not say whether and how the government would put Kahane "back in his bottle."

Postscript: We're All Anti-Racists

affirmed a solidarity that extends beyond nationality and religion.

However, there are many other Israelis whose anti-racism is simply an expedient way of preserving the legitimacy of the Zionist state. Their opposition to Kahane stems from their fear that by exposing the racist roots of Zionist praxis, whereby every Arab is one Arab too many, Kahane's verbalisation of the silent wish is undermining the international standing of the "Jewish state."

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek is an excellent example of ostensible opposition to Kahane. While decrying the odious ideology of Kach, Kollek seems to display no compunctions about overseeing the annexation of East Jerusalem and the subjugation of the Palestinian residents he claims to represent, hypocritically justifying the administrative racism of the Jerusalem municipality with the claim that he is working for "coexistence."

For those like Kollek, who have a stake in the Zionist regime, anti-racism amounts to no more than good public relations, an attempt to preserve Israel's reputation, and a bid to prevent Kahane from sullying the state-ideology with the undisguised racism Kollek and his

Settlers Squat in Hebron

Continued from page 1

to the flat during their absence.

A butcher who runs a shop across the flat said the house had been owned by Yousef Nassar, another Hebronite butcher, until two years ago when Nassar reportedly sold it to Mohammed Yunis Ja'bari, also from Hebron. The shopkeeper had no idea what settlers were doing in the house.

The picture became clearer, however, the next day when news reports from the Casba spoke of settlers moving into a house in the market area which they claimed to have purchased two years ago. The press reports said the settlers decided to move in at this particular time in reprisal for the stabbing of their fellow settlers a few days earlier. Settlers in the past have vowed to build a settlement at any site where a Jew is injured by Arabs.

According to Israeli military law in the occupied territories it is illegal for property to be exchanged for a monetary price between Arabs and Jews without prior permission from the Defence Ministry. Since the house was allegedly purchased by Jews from Arabs without military permission, the sale was considered illegal. As a result, the Israeli military ordered the settlers to leave the flat. The settlers vacated the flat, but would return later using back alleyways.

Casba shopkeepers reopened their shops August 15 after the curfew was completely lifted. On that same day, three Israeli Knesset members entered the flat in a show of solidarity with the settlers' demand that the house be the beginning of a renewed drive to increase Jewish presence in the heart of Hebron. MKs Geula Cohen, Eliezer Waldman and Gershon Shafat from Hatehiya joined the squatters. Their eviction was made more difficult because of their political position.

Support for the settlers and the squatting MKs also came from major Israeli parties including the Likud which shares power with the Labour party in the "national unity" government. Likud ministers like Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Trade and Industry Minister Ariel Sharon expressed open support for the settlers in their efforts to settle Hebron. They also took the matter to the cabinet in an effort to legitimise the alleged purchase of the house and its settling.

Labour's Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Rabin, on the other hand, opposed the settlers in their drive on the grounds that settling in the occupied territories should go through the proper channels, that is, with government approval. While the Labour and Likud battled over the house, four more MKs — Yuval Ne'eman (Tehiya), Haim Druckman (Morasha), and Benny Shalita and Dov Shilansky (Likud) — joined the squatters August 19 until a day later when the Defence Ministry ordered all the MKs to leave the house. The MKs left with a promise to continue the fight for the house and Jewish settlement of Hebron. The main entrance to the house is currently closed and guarded by three Israeli soldiers.

Shopkeepers in the market area, particularly those around the house, complained that the whole affair has caused them distress and economic loss. They said the presence of settlers in the narrow streets of the market blocked the passageways to town residents who shop every day in the market. The shopkeepers and residents in general avoided going to the market while settlers were there because they feared an attack, of one kind or another, conducted against the settlers which would cause mass arrests of Arabs and closure of the area.

Kiryat Arba Rabbi Moshe Levinger stood at the Casba entrance August 19 along with a number of his followers to prevent Arab shoppers from entering it. A scuffle broke out between Levinger and the Arab residents but it was controlled through the intervention of Hebron's military governor at the request of Arab shopkeepers in that area. The soldiers reportedly arrested Levinger and four of his followers on charges of disturbing the peace. Six Arabs were also called in to the military offices for questioning on this incident.

In addition to these difficulties caused by the presence of settlers in the heart of a bustling Arab city, the fact that the military considers it a closed military area every time some Israeli officials visit there is also cause for annoyance to shopkeepers. The Casba area was closed off with barbed wires August 19 when the military declared it was going in to evacuate the squatting MKs. A few hours later, the MKs were still in the flat and the army stood around doing nothing.

The settlers' drive into Hebron began with the occupation of the city in 1967. The first settlement built was Kiryat Arba which eventually became headquarters for the most militant settlers. From Kiryat Arba, which falls just outside the city boundaries, settlers gradually crept into the city using every opportunity to set up permanent residence. The settlers claim that they have had property in Hebron since 1929 when they left it following violent clashes with Arab residents was the justification for every attempt they have made to settle in Hebron. The Jewish neighbourhood which falls just outside the Casba is their main target. So far the settlers have set up permanent homes in four adjacent locations in the city in a plan to rebuild the Jewish neighbourhood.

The Committee for the Re-settlement of the Jewish Community in Hebron was set up in Kiryat Arba whose aim was to acquire through whatever means possible as much property as they could from the Arabs in Hebron. Their goal, as recently stated by Ariel Sharon, is to achieve a Jewish majority in Hebron. The settlers plan to gradually take over the city in a manner similar to their occupation of al-Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. The settlers first began to demand a corner in the mosque in which to pray. They later won the right to pray anywhere inside the mosque during Jewish holidays, while Muslims, who are the original owners of the mosque, must stay away during these times.

Quoted in the *Jerusalem Post* August 16, Rabbi Levinger said their committee has purchased "hundreds" of flats in Hebron in a bid to rebuild the Jewish neighbourhood. The Casba house, according to the settlers, was purchased two years ago. Even though the sale of the Casba house, which falls about 100 metres outside the Jewish neighbourhood but inside the market area, is not yet confirmed, rumours spread as to how it got into Jewish hands. Yousef Nassar, the owner of the house until two years ago, insisted that he sold it to Mohammed Ja'bari for 2500 Jordanian dinars. The sale was conducted through a lawyer, Nassar said. A shopowner near the house confirmed that Nassar told him two years ago that he sold the house to Ja'bari.

When Nassar bought the house, which consists of three run-down rooms and a bath, he had plans to use it for butchering sheep. The neighbours, however, complained of the mess. He decided then to sell the house to Ja'bari.

Nassar said Ja'bari wanted the house as a personal residence because his father was tired of him living at home. Ja'bari's father is employed as a garbage collector in the city. Mohammed is also a garbage collector and janitor for the various settler residences in the city. Hebronites reported that they regularly saw Ja'bari walking with settlers and spending most of his time in their quarters cleaning. However, after his name became associated with the possible sale of the house to settlers, Mohammed has not been seen again. Rumours go that Ja'bari is hiding out in the settlements in fear that if he comes out he will have to account for what happened.

Meanwhile, the settlers' drive into Hebron continues in full force causing as much provocation as possible in order to create friction with the Arab residents. The settlers know that the government is behind them and that if they begin, through whatever means, to settle Hebron, or any West Bank city for that matter, they will eventually win legitimacy and make their presence a reality — just like the occupation government is doing in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan in general.

Squatting MKs Haim Druckman (left) and Yuval Ne'eman (right) lead the other five settling parliamentarians past an Israeli army escort and barbed wire fence as they leave the Casba house early in the morning August 20. /AFP Photo

An iron fence blocks entrance to the Qazzazine market in Hebron. /AO Photo